THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO, N. C.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

BULLETIN No. 30

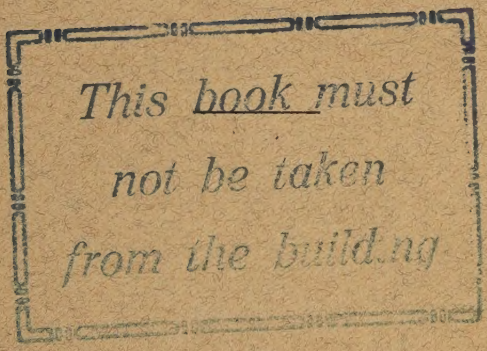
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Twenty-second Annual Session

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina



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RALEIGH
DECEMBER 7-8, 1922

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OF THE

Twenty-second Annual Session

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State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 7-8, 1922

Compiled by
R. B. HOUSE, Secretary

RALEIGH
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1923

The North Carolina Historical Commission

T. M. Pittman, *Chairman*, Henderson

M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill
Frank Wood, Edenton
Heriot Clarkson, Charlotte
W. N. Everett, Raleigh

D. H. Hill, *Secretary*, Raleigh
R. B. House, *Archivist*, Raleigh

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1921-1922

President.....William K. Boyd, Durham.
First Vice-President.....S. A. Ashe, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....Mrs. D. H. Blair, Greensboro.
Third Vice-President.....John Jordan Douglass, Wadesboro.
Secretary.....R. B. House, Raleigh.

Executive Committee

(With above officers)

W. C. Jackson, Greensboro.
J. G. deR. Hamilton, Chapel Hill
D. H. Hill, Raleigh.
Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.

1922-1923

President.....Miss Adelaide Fries, Winston-Salem.
First Vice-President.....Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest.
Third Vice-President.....Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, Raleigh.
Secretary.....R. B. House, Raleigh.

Executive Committee

(With above officers)

R. D. W. Connor, Chapel Hill.
W. K. Boyd, Chapel Hill.
Miss Carrie L. Broughton, Raleigh.
C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.
Gen. J. S. Carr, Durham.
John J. Blair, Raleigh.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. The dues are one dollar a year, to be paid to the secretary.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Organized October, 1900)

Fiscal Years	*Presidents*	*Secretaries*	*Paid-up Membership*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor	412
1915-1916	Howard E. Rondthaler	R. D. W. Connor	501
1916-1917	H. A. London	R. D. W. Connor	521
1917-1918	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor	453
1918-1919	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor	377
1919-1920	J. G. deR. Hamilton	R. D. W. Connor	493
1920-1921	D. H. Hill	R. B. House	430
1921-1922	W. K. Boyd	R. B. House	430
1922-1923	Adelaide Fries	R. B. House	450

THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

Established 1905; discontinued 1922

THE CONDITIONS OF AWARD OFFICIALLY SET FORTH BY MRS. PATTERSON

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup, upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communication regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad."
1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier."
1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina."
1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina."
1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe."
1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History."
1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."
1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up."
1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders."
1914—J. G. deR. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina."
1915—William Louis Poteat, for "The New Peace."
1916—No award.
1917—Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, for "The Cycle's Rim."
1918—No award.
1919—No award.
1920—Miss Winifred Kirkland, for "The New Death."
1921—No award.
1922—Josephus Daniels, for "Our Navy at War."

FINAL DISPOSITION OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

RALEIGH, N. C., March 16, 1923.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON, *Winston-Salem, N. C.*

DEAR MRS. PATTERSON:—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association yesterday, it was decided to discontinue the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup and to deposit the cup as a permanent memorial in the Hall of History. This decision was reached only after it had been ascertained that such disposition was agreeable to you.

As you will remember, the original contest was to continue for ten years, with the idea that if any one author should win the cup three times it would become his property. Although Dr. Clarence Poe won the cup twice, the condition of winning it three times was not met by any one author. The contest was therefore continued indefinitely, at the discretion of the executive committee. The following situation has arisen: the space on the cup for engraving the names of the winners has been entirely filled, and since the cup has met adequately the purpose for which it was established, it is deemed best to establish the cup, as it is now engraved, as a permanent memorial in the Hall of History.

The effectiveness of the cup as a stimulant to literary effort in North Carolina will be clear to you from the record of its award.

In retiring the cup, the executive committee reserves the right to establish again, as soon as practicable, some other form of literary reward, so that it will gratify you to know that the idea established by you in the award of the Patterson Cup is likely to be a permanent stimulant to literary effort in the State.

It is hardly necessary to express to you the deep appreciation, not only of the Literary and Historical Association itself, but of all the people of North Carolina, for your sincere interest and coöperation in the purposes of the State Literary and Historical Association.

With best wishes and highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

ADELAIDE FRIES, *President.*
R. B. HOUSE, *Secretary.*

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE; SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall.
5. Fireproof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. Patterson Memorial Cup.

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Proceedings and Addresses of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Minutes of the Twenty-second Annual Session Raleigh, December 7-8, 1922

Thursday Evening, December 7th

The twenty-second annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of the Woman's Club of Raleigh, Thursday evening, December 7th, at 8 o'clock, with President W. K. Boyd in the chair. The session was opened with invocation by Rev. Henry G. Lane, pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh. Dr. Boyd then read the annual address of the president. He was followed by Dr. John E. White, President of Anderson College, who addressed the Association on "When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina, 1890-1900." After Dr. White's address there was a reception for the members of the Association, the Folk Lore Society, and their guests, in the Club Building.

Friday Morning, December 8th

The Friday morning session, December 8th, was called to order by President Boyd at 11 o'clock a. m., in the House of Representatives. The President presented to the Association Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, of Raleigh, who read a paper entitled, "Two Wake County Editors Whose Work Has Influenced the World." She was followed by Dr. Edmund Schwarze, of Winston-Salem, who read a paper on "Missions of the Moravians in North Carolina Among Southern Indian Tribes." The President then presented Dr. C. C. Pearson, of Wake Forest College, who read a paper on "Concerning a History of North Carolina Administrative Departments." He was followed by Dr. L. R. Wilson, of the University of North Carolina, whose subject was "Use of Books and Libraries in North Carolina." Miss Mary B. Palmer, who was to read the bibliography of North Carolina for the year 1921-1922, was unable to be present. She sent in her paper for publication, and Miss Carrie L. Broughton, State Librarian, made an exhibit of books of the year.

At the conclusion of the exercises the following business was transacted:

The president appointed the following:

Committee on Nominations—W. C. Jackson, W. W. Pierson, Miss Carrie L. Broughton.

Committee on Resolutions—D. H. Hill, Marshall DeL. Haywood, Charles Lee Smith.

Committee on a North Carolina Poetry Society—C. A. Hibbard, Miss Nell B. Lewis, Roger McCutcheon, Gerald Johnson.

This last committee was appointed in response to the following resolution:

"Having canvassed the situation, and feeling that there is a definite interest in the criticism and writing of verse, we respectfully petition the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association to appoint a committee of organization with a view to promoting a poetry society for North Carolina.

"N. I. WHITE,
"NELL BATTLE LEWIS,
"JOHN JORDAN DOUGLASS,
"C. A. HIBBARD, *Chairman.*"

General Julian S. Carr obtained the floor on behalf of the Sir Walter Raleigh Memorial Committee. In the course of his remarks he endorsed in high terms the services of W. J. Peele in the work on the memorial and as a founder of North Carolina State College, and the Literary and Historical Association. He offered the following resolution, which was carried:

Resolved, That the movement inaugurated by the North Carolina Historical Society in the year 1902 to erect a memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh in the city of Raleigh be properly reorganized and recognized by this Society.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton offered the following resolution, which was carried:

"We, the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, wish to express ourselves as solidly behind the movement to erect the Sir Walter Raleigh monument, and will do everything possible to assist General Carr and others interested in this movement.

(Signed) "MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
Regent.
"NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON,
Recording Secretary."

This was followed by a third resolution made by Dr. J. Y. Joyner, and carried, as follows:

Moved, that General Carr be made Chairman of the Sir Walter Raleigh Memorial Committee of twenty-five, and that the chairman, the incoming president and the secretary of this association be authorized to select and announce the other members of this committee.

The president, through the secretary, reported the following revised constitution, which was carried unanimously:

NAME

This association shall be called the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of a healthy State pride among the rising generations.

OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, first, second, and third vice-presidents, and a secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the executive committee until the meeting of the association occurring next thereafter.

The president shall preside over all the meetings of the association, and appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and look after the general interest of the association. In case of the death or resignation of the president, his successor shall be selected by the executive committee from the vice-presidents.

The secretary shall be the administrative officer of the association. He shall keep the books and funds, receive money for the association, and disburse it for purposes authorized by the executive committee. He shall strive by all practicable means to increase the membership and influence of the association.

COMMITTEES

There shall be an executive committee, composed of the president, the secretary, and six others, two of whom shall be appointed each year by the incoming president, to serve three years: *Provided*, that at the annual session, 1922, four members shall be elected by the association, as follows: two members to serve one year, and two to serve two years. The president, secretary, and any other three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The executive committee shall make programs and arrangements for all meetings of the association, supervise all business matters, receive all reports of officers, endeavor especially to secure from philanthropic citizens donations toward a permanent fund of endowment, and in general promote the purpose of the association. The executive committee shall be subject to the general supervision of the association.

There shall be such other committees appointed by the president to serve during his term of office for such time and such purposes as he shall see fit.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons interested in its purposes and desiring to have a part in promoting them are eligible to membership in the association. They will be duly enrolled upon receipt of the annual membership fee.

FEES

The annual membership fee shall be one dollar, to be paid to the secretary.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular annual meeting, the time and place of which shall be determined by the executive committee. Other meetings may be arranged by the executive committee.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

Auxiliary societies may be organized, with the advice of, and under the supervision of, the executive committee.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 8TH

In the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Chairman W. C. Jackson called to order a conference of North Carolina history teachers. Discussion was led by Mr. Charles L. Coon and Mr. Guy B. Phillips, and participated in by numerous teachers of history. The conference was held Friday afternoon, December 8th.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 8TH

On Friday evening, December 8th, President Boyd called the meeting to order in the auditorium of Meredith College. He presented Prof. Louis Graves, of the University of North Carolina, who presented the speaker of the evening, Mr. Walter Lippmann, of the New York World. Mr. Lippmann read a paper on "The Cult of the Second Best," after which there was brief discussion by question and answer between Mr. Lippmann and his audience. At the conclusion of the address Dr. T. P. Harrison, of the State College, in a brief and graceful speech rendered the report of the Patterson Cup Committee, awarding the cup for 1922 to Hon. Josephus Daniels, for his book, "Our Navy at War."

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following resolution, which was carried:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina commends the establishment of county libraries, and urges county authorities to consider this plan as the most feasible to promote county-wide library service. D. H. Hill, *Chairman.*

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows:

Officers: President—Miss Adelaide Fries, Winston-Salem; 1st Vice-President—Bishop Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh; 2d Vice-President—Dr. Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest; 3d Vice-President—Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, Raleigh; Secretary—R. B. House, Raleigh.

Members of the Executive Committee: R. D. W. Connor, Chapel Hill; W. K. Boyd, Durham; Miss Carrie L. Broughton, Raleigh; C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.

The Association adjourned *sine die.*

ADDRESSES

The American Revolution and Reform in the South

By Wm. K. Boyd
President State Literary and Historical Association

The past decade has witnessed a profound change in the public opinion and policies of the United States. In 1914 we had placed new wine in old bottles and under the domination of a party noted for its conservatism we were experimenting with governmental supervision of business and finance, adopting a new program of taxation, and considering certain measures leading to social democracy; then toward the end of the World War we championed a policy of international co-operation. Today we have reached a point of extreme reaction. Alarmed at the forces unloosed by the cataclysm in Europe we have conceived a nebulous state of normalcy; for national self-preservation we have retired behind the cloak of isolation, political and economic. Alarmed at the prevalence of new political and social ideals, free speech is limited, free teaching is restricted, personal liberty to travel to and fro is denied, and the alien is restrained from seeking in America a refuge from old world conditions. Moreover, in reaction against anything new we have fallen back in national administration into the old trough dedicated to the sacred theory of the separation of the powers. Today we stand as the most conservative rather than the most progressive and forward-looking of the great nations of the world.

The present confusion in opinion, the uncertainty in the national state of mind, should be stimulating to those who are historically minded. This is not the first period in our national life when existing institutions and the social structure have been questioned; by no means the first time when some have turned blindly to the ancient landmarks and others have sought an anchorage in new principles. While history never repeats and comparisons are always dangerous, there are certain phenomena of parallel interest with the present turmoil and uncertainty; and today the conservative and the radical could do no better than to recall and examine from the angle of institutional reform and social change that decade which saw the birth of the Republic. For the American Revolution was not merely a revolt against the mother country resulting in independence; it also unloosed forces in America that few foresaw at the beginning of the struggle, and these forces

produced changes at home as profound and lasting as did the entry of a new member into the family of nations. And nowhere were those changes more apparent than in the Southern States. It was by virtue of the leadership taken in the reform of social and institutional life that the South was enabled to assert its great influence in shaping the affairs of the nation during the generation after the war; for statesmanship is never bred in a static atmosphere; for it the spirit of dynamic change is essential; and nowhere in America was that spirit stronger in the later eighteenth century than in the South.

I take therefore as the theme of my address the spirit of the American Revolution and its reaction on the institutional and social structure of the South, the conflict between conservatism and radicalism during that epoch-making period in this our home region. To that end, let us first consider the background which precipitated the issues.

From the early days down to 1776 certain fundamental influences shaped Southern society. First of these was that of family. In no other region of English America did kinship, locality, and descent have quite the importance that prevailed south of the Potomac. For this there were various reasons. One was economic. In the pioneer days land was granted by headrights. Once the land was surveyed and entered, wife and children were also of value in clearing the forest, cultivating the soil, and in administering the property. Social demands also made the family of distinct value. There were few amusements, and the distance from settlement to settlement was great. Therefore if relaxation or a change from immediate surroundings was desired, family and kindred were the only opportunity. Blood relationship meant companionship, sympathy, and that relaxation which later ages have found in golf clubs and pleasure resorts.

To the same end worked a tradition brought from the old world. No worthier ambition occurred to an Englishman than to found a family which would preserve its identity from generation to generation. In the South encouragement in that purpose existed in the land law. Generally the property of persons dying intestate passed to the oldest son, and this custom of the law stimulated testators to give preference to one heir over others. Moreover, it was possible through entails to insure inheritance in one line of descent. So the unity of family property was established, and on the basis of that unity there developed an aristocracy of land and family. Thus economic conditions, the need for companionship, tradition and the law gave to the family a peculiar position; indeed in the South the family had something of the sanctity enjoyed by the church in New England. It was in the home, not the church, that the great epochs of human life were usually celebrated;

there occurred the christenings and marriages, there in garden or neighboring field was the burial ground, and often the only churches of the community were the private chapels of the great landowners. The family was the inner shrine of southern life.

Second only to the family in importance was the system of local government. Indeed the two were intimately connected. In England a part of the family ideal was for one or more members to take an active part in public affairs. This tradition followed the colonists to the new world, and in the South the opportunity was at hand in the county court, the prevailing unit of local government. Though varying as to detail from colony to colony, the county court everywhere had this in common: its members, the justices of the peace, were appointed, not elected. The other officers of the county were also appointed, either by the court or by the Governor. The powers of these justices were not merely judicial; they were also governmental and administrative. To be a county justice was a position of no mean importance, and it is no wonder that well-established families centered their attention first of all on membership in the county court. Generation after generation members of the same family were to be found on the local bench. The office was a stepping-stone to other positions; to the Legislature, the governor's council, and the office of sheriff. Thus there developed a ruling class whose members were bound to each other by ties of public service. Its support was indispensable to any one desiring to enter public life.

Like England, also, was the law. Each colony inherited the common law and the statutes enacted by Parliament before its foundation. Local conditions made possible many modifications of this principle. In New England, especially, there were many variations, but in the South there was a larger fidelity to English heritage. The law of inheritance and wills, equity and the land law, procedure and the division of the courts into courts of law and courts of equity—these matters illustrate the fidelity to British jurisprudence. How strong was the example of contemporary England is well illustrated by the application of benefit of clergy. This custom of the law, by which severe penalties for crime were ameliorated, was adopted in Virginia. In 1732, in language almost identical with that of the statute of 5 Anne 6, the Virginia Legislature declared:

> If any person be convicted of felony, for which he ought to have the benefit of clergy, and shall pray to have the benefit of this act, he shall not be required to read, but, without any reading, shall be allowed, taken, and reputed to be, and punished as, a clerk convict.

Thus branding and corporal punishment became a substitute for hanging by the neck until dead in offenses that were clergiable. This adaptation of English practice was not confined to Virginia; it was found also in the Carolinas and Georgia, and was not abolished until long after the Revolution.

An important element in the colonial life of the South was religion. The warm climate, the close contact of the people with the forces of nature, and the comparative loneliness due to sparse settlements begot a peculiar emotional temperament. This was a good background for religious thought and feeling; for solitude leads to introspection, nature suggests an unseen presence, and warmth of climate creates a susceptibility to emotional appeal. Unfortunately the history of religion was characterized by a contest between privilege and equality. In Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the Church of England was established and the law of the time discriminated in its favor. The persecution of Puritans and the exclusion of Quakers in Virginia during the seventeenth century, and the question of the extension of the Toleration Act to Dissenters in the eighteenth century, are familiar themes in the colony's history. More than this, the law of Virginia declared that any one brought up in the Christian faith who denied the being of God or the Trinity, that the Christian religion is true, or that the scriptures are of divine authority should lose his capacity to hold office on first conviction, on a second his right to sue, receive gifts and legacies, or to serve as guardian or executor, and he was also to suffer three years' imprisonment. In North Carolina the clergymen not of the established Church were subject to militia and road service, and in South Carolina the parish organization was made a unit of civil government whereby the low country controlled the alien settlements of the frontier. In spite of these discriminations the Dissenters increased in numbers until they were in the majority and the contest between England and the colonies which ushered in the Revolution was paralleled by a controversy no less notable between the Anglicans and Dissenters for toleration and equality before the law.

Education and intellectual life also bore the stamp of old world traditions. The English ideal that education is the function of the family and the individual except in the case of indigent children prevailed. Hence it was that the only provision for public education in colonial law was exactly that which also existed in England, the training of indigent children and orphans through apprenticeship. Suggestive of England also was the foundation of privately supported or endowed free schools to which poor children were usually admitted free. A

number of these free schools were to be found in Virginia and South Carolina, and in the latter colony such schools were supported by clubs or societies. The nature of the curriculum in these institutions is unknown, but an advertisement for a master to teach a free school in Princess Anne County in 1784 required of the candidate ability to teach the Latin and Greek languages and surveying. It is not difficult to see in these schools an effort to duplicate in America the work of the endowed grammar schools in England. A few academies identified with the Church of England existed. There were also academies established by the Presbyterian clergy of the Carolinas in the generation preceding the Revolution; but their growth and expansion was limited by the policy of the British Government which would not permit them to be chartered. Indeed, toward the support of schools by public money the British Government was strongly averse; money emitted for that purpose by the North Carolina Assembly in 1754 and spent for the colonial cause in the French and Indian War was not refunded.

Yet there was a high type of intellectual life among the large planters. In South Carolina the dominant interest was science and medicine. In Virginia it was law and philosophy, and politics. Robert Carter read philosophy with his wife; Jefferson also dabbled in the subject; the opinions of the Virginia jurists show a wide knowledge of the English common law; and surely no profounder student of politics lived than Madison. "In spite of the Virginian's love for dissipation," wrote Liancourt, "the taste for reading is commoner there, among men of the first class than in any other part of America." However, intellectual life did not find expression in the production of books, rather it found an outlet through the spoken word. Politics and litigation were something more than a personal stake; they were a game to be played for the game's sake, methods of intellectual discipline. There was thus injected into public affairs a sort of splendid disinterestedness. It was this phase of southern character that William Ellery Channing had in mind when he wrote from Richmond in 1799:

> I blush for my own people when I compare the selfish prudence of a Yankee with the genuine confidence of a Virginian. . . . There is one single trait that attaches me to the people I live with more than all the virtues of New England: they love money less than we do; they are more disinterested; their patriotism is not tied to their pursestrings.

Social conditions were characterized by privilege based not on blood, but on wealth. Nowhere in America were there greater inequalities, and of these inequalities Virginia was most notable. Wrote Isaac Weld:

> Instead of the land being equally divided, numerous estates are held by a few individuals, who derive large incomes from them, whilst the generality of the people are in a state of mediocrity. Most of the men, also, who possess these large estates, having secured a liberal education, which the others have not, the distinction between them is still more observable. (*Travels*, I, 146.)

These words aptly describe the larger planter class—a class so numerous in South Carolina, less extensive in North Carolina, and barely existent in Georgia. But there was also a large middle class, small planters and farmers, professional men, mechanics and yoemen. They composed at least half of the population in Virginia and more than half in North Carolina. Many of them accumulated property or attained intellectual distinction, and thereby rose into the ranks of the aristocracy. One can almost identify this class by the descriptions of their houses, as when a traveler mentions houses built of wood, with wooden chimneys coated with clay, whose owners "being in general ignorant of the comfort of reading and writing, they want nothing in their whole house but a bed, dining-room, and a drawing-room for company."

Finally there were the poor whites—rude, shiftless, and unambitious. "It is in this country that I saw poor persons for the first time after I passed the sea," wrote Chastellux, "the presence of wretched, miserable huts inhabited by whites whose wan looks and ragged garments indicated the direst poverty." However, the proportion of this class to the total population was less "than in any other country of the universe." Not poverty *per se,* but the contrast between poverty and riches impressed the observer. Between Richmond and Fredericksburg one might meet a "family party traveling along in as elegant a coach as is usually met with in the neighborhood of London, and attended by several gayly dressed footmen." He might also meet a "ragged black boy or girl driving a lean cow and a mule; sometimes a lean bull or two, riding or driving as occasion suited. The carriage or wagon, if it may be called such, appeared in as wretched a condition as the team and its driver."

Regarding class distinctions and class feeling we have little information from the natives themselves, especially from members of the humbler class. Preëminent among such accounts is the testimony of Devereux Jarrett, a Methodist minister:

> We were accustomed to look upon what were called gentle folks as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of them and kept off at a humble distance. A periwig in those days was a distinguishing badge of gentle folks, and when I saw a man riding the road, near our house, with a wig on, it would so alarm my fears and give me such a disagreeable feeling that I dare say I would run off as for my life. Such ideas of the difference between gentle and simple were, I believe, universal among my rank. (*Life*, p. 14.)

That slavery tended to intensify class distinctions is an axiom to which Jefferson bore ample testimony. But to the serious inquirer the more notable characteristic of Southern slavery in the later eighteenth century was its unprofitableness and a widespread desire to see it abolished. Weld wrote:

> The number of slaves increased most rapidly, so that there is scarcely any State but what is overstocked. This is a circumstance complained of by every planter, as the maintenance of more than are requisite for the culture of the estate is attended with great expense. (*Travels*, I, 147.)

In 1774 the wife of Robert Carter agreed with Philip Fithian, the family tutor, that if all the slaves were sold on the plantation, and the money put at interest, there would be a "greater yearly income than what is now received from their working the lands," to say nothing of the risk and trouble assumed by the master as to crops and negroes. And this opinion was confirmed in greater detail by St. George Tucker in 1804:

> It would be a very high estimate should one suppose the generality of farmers to make ten per cent per annum upon the whole value of their lands and slaves. I incline to believe that very few exceed eight per cent, and out of this the clothing and provisions of their slaves and horses employed in making the crop ought to be deducted. A net profit of five per cent is probably more than remains to one in twenty for the support of himself and his family. If he wants money to increase his stock, even the legal demands and speculators' pay, without scruple will amount to fourfold, perhaps tenfold, his profits. (*Commentaries on Blackstone.*)

In South Carolina also there was a similar sentiment. LaRochefoucauld-Liancourt, writing in 1799, made a careful estimate of the economic profits of slave labor in that State and concluded that it was $68 per head and that white labor would bring a larger return.

This condition was one basis of a widespread desire to see slavery abolished. Finch wrote:

> Before I visited the Southern States, I supposed that all the planters were in favor of the system of slavery. But I did not meet with a single individual who did not regret having this species of property, and shew a wish to remedy it, if there was any possible mode by which it could be accomplished. (*Travels*, 240.)

Said Russel Goodrich before the Alexandria Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, in 1791:

> But let our planters become farmers—it would be a memorable idea; our fields, touched with a magic wand, would bloom; our slaves become freemen; our improvement excite universal attention.

Such were the institutions and economic conditions peculiar to the South in the eighteenth century. It was a land of many contrasts. Political oligarchies ruled, yet there was a certain disinterested devotion to the public service, and the section's greatest contribution to national life was in the domain of political thought. Refinement and culture of a high type existed, but along with it much ignorance and coarseness. Love of liberty was challenged by the existence of chattel slavery. The bounty of nature was rebuked by wasteful production. Souls susceptible to religious appeal were steeped in material aims and deistic philosophy. What traits of character distinguished the Southerner from his neighbor northward? What kind of men and women did such conditions produce? The answer is suggested by a remark of Bernard in his *Retrospects.* Speaking of the Virginia planters he says, "Like the old feudal barons, their whole life is a temptation through absence of restraint." Life in a vast, bountiful and undeveloped region, life in intimate contact with the blind forces of nature, life without the limitations of a small unit of local government, life without adequate means of intellectual discipline or adequate religious institutions, life with hosts of dependent servile blacks; under such conditions character was molded with no restraint from without; men and women developed according to the dictates of emotion and will. Thus the Southerner was notable for his individuality, for his nonconformity to type or pattern. This individuality, resulting from absence of restraint, in turn produced certain traits well outlined by Thomas Jefferson when contrasting Northern and Southern character:

N.	S.
cool	fiery
sober	voluptuous
laborious	indolent
persevering	unsteady
independent	independent
jealous of their own liberties and just to those of others.	zealous for liberty, but trampling on that of others.

Upon such a region and such a people the American Revolution had a profound reaction. Its justification was found in the compact theory of government popularized by the Declaration of Independence. That all men are created equal meant, in the light of the revenue controversy, equality of economic liberties. That all governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed meant in the relation of colonies to the mother country, self-governing but component parts of a British Empire. These were concepts which only radicals and obscure

men then grasped; when they were rejected by the authorities in power independence was the only alternative. But when the choice of independence was made, what were the implications of that equality and that government by consent to the citizens of the states in revolt? Specifically, what were their implications in a section with a well-established landed aristocracy, ruled by petty judicial oligarchies, more English than American in its system of law, without educational opportunities for all, where the concept of liberty was challenged by chattel slavery and religion was characterized by the privilege of one denomination? It is worthy of note that the man who more than any other realized the contrast between the political theory of the Revolution and the institutions and conditions peculiar to the South was Thomas Jefferson. Within three months after the Declaration was adopted he resigned from the Continental Congress, returned to Virginia, and became a member of the Legislature with the distinct purpose of agitating democratic reform. He says:

> When I left Congress, in 1776, it was in the persuasion that our whole code must be revised, adapted to our republican form of government, and now that we had no negations or councils, governors and kings to restrain us from doing right, that it should be corrected in all its parts, with a single eye to reason, and the good of those for whose government it was formed. (*Memoir.*)

In one direction the course of reform was already under way, that of religious freedom. In June the Virginia Convention had adopted a constitution, and in the Bill of Rights there was a declaration that "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience." This meant the abolition of religious discrimination, that persecutions were no longer possible, and that men of all religious persuasions could participate in government if they met the proper secular tests. It was far in advance of North Carolina's, for there the right to hold office was denied to those who rejected the being of God, the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments. In Georgia, likewise, the constitution of 1777 declared for freedom of religion but required all members of the Legislature to be of the Protestant religion, and not until 1790 was the principle of religious freedom fully triumphant in South Carolina. Thus Virginia led the South; moreover it led the nation, for in no other of the first state constitutions was the principle of unrestricted religious freedom enunciated; only Rhode Island, which continued its colonial charter, reached a similar plane. More than this, the Virginia declaration was the first of the kind to be embodied in a modern constitution anywhere.

However a question of equal importance was not settled, the relationship between the State and the established church. Many of the Dissenters held that the Virginia declaration destroyed that relationship; the Anglicans that it did not. Thus when the Legislature assembled in October there were many petitions; some, mainly from Presbyterians and Baptists, prayed for a final separation of church and state; others, submitted by Anglicans and members of the Methodist societies, asked for a continuation of the establishment. Of the committee to which these were referred Jefferson was a member. His sympathies were entirely for disestablishment, but against him were Edmund Pendleton, the jurist, and Robert Carter Nicholas, patriot. For two months there was a deadlock. Then as a compromise the English statutes which made criminal religious opinions were declared invalid, the Dissenters were exempted from the payment of church taxes, and all others were likewise exempted for one year. This was practically, but not theoretically, disestablishment. Coercion over opinion had previously gone, and taxes now relinquished were never reimposed.

It is somewhat difficult for us today to realize the significance of these changes in organic law. The men who promoted them were of English extraction, and for a thousand years there had been in the mother country an established church, the acknowledgment in law and institutions of national allegiance to God. For a group of provincials, English in origin and tradition, ruthlessly and suddenly to sever the historic relationship between religion and government marked them as radicals. States embarking on such a policy were entering an uncharted sea and there were grave predictions as to the future. In fact in Virginia many believed that standards of conduct were lowered and the morals of the people corrupted by this break with the past. Typical was Richard Henry Lee. He wrote:

> Refiners may weave reason into as fine a fabric as they please, but the experience of all times shows religion to be the guardian of morals; and he must be a very inattentive observer in our country who does not see that avarice is accomplishing the destruction of religion for want of legal obligation to contribute something to its support. (Lee, *Lee*, II, 5.)

Naturally the traditionalists gathered strength and in 1784 they submitted to the Legislature two measures, one to incorporate such religious societies as would apply for incorporation, the other that the people ought to pay "a moderate tax or contribution annually for the support of the Christian religion." Both these resolutions were adopted and the Episcopal Church, applying for incorporation, was promptly chartered. However the second resolution, calling for taxation, required a statute;

through the influence of Madison the bill was deferred until the next session in order to sound the sentiment of the people. There followed a notable campaign, and when the Legislature next met it was evident that Virginians had spoken against any renewal of church taxes. Taking advantage of the situation, a bill for religious freedom written by Jefferson was introduced and was adopted. It established nothing new; but it did state in form of statute the ideal of complete religious liberty; while toleration widely existed no State hitherto had enacted that principle into statute law. This distinction again belongs to Virginia. The incorporation of the Episcopal Church was repealed, and this was followed by the policy of confiscating its property, a process not completed until 1802.

In one other Southern state the religious problem proved serious. That was South Carolina. There disestablishment was a political issue bound up with the reform of representation. The constitution of 1777 made a compromise. The privilege of the Anglican Church was removed by admitting other churches to incorporation, but the ideal of a relationship between religion and government was preserved, for it declared that the Christian Protestant religion should be the religion of the State and every member of the House of Representatives should be of that faith. This was not in harmony with the democratic spirit of the time and in 1790 the religious qualification was abolished and the free exercise of religion was guaranteed.

What was the significance of this controversy over religious liberty and disestablishment? It was something more than a contest for private judgment; it was a part of the democratic movement of the time, inspired by the doctrine of the equality of man and the consent of the governed. It was also a phase of the contest for power between the tidewater and the piedmont regions. The results of the movement were vastly important. It reacted on the general state of culture. In New England intellectual life tended toward the spiritual; it was dominated by theology; in the South it was materialistic, leaning toward law, philosophy, and deism. Now the triumph of religious liberty and disestablishment at first strengthened the forces of materialism and deism, and the cause of religion, whether ritualistic or evangelical, was retarded. Said Isaac Weld:

> Throughout the lower part of Virginia—that is, between the mountains and the sea—the people have scarcely any sense of religion, and in the country the churches are falling into decay. As I rode along, I scarcely observed one that was not in a ruinous condition, with the windows broken, doors dropping off the hinges, and lying open to the pigs and cattle wandering about the weeds.

No greater revolution occurred in the life of the Southern people than that in the early years of the nineteenth century when, through a series of revivals, the mind of the masses was swung from the popular skepticism of the day to the fervid acceptance of the orthodox teachings of the evangelical churches.

Finally the religious controversy had an influence on political history. Jefferson espoused the cause of the religious liberty. He was widely denounced for this policy and his record was cited against him in the presidential campaigns of 1796 and 1800. Madison's share in the movement was also capitalized by his opponents. But both men had won the admiration and loyalty of thousands of Dissenters, who were for the most part small farmers and men of small means. It was therefore easy to organize them into opposition to an economic policy hostile to their interests, the policy best represented by the Hamiltonian financial measures. Indeed as a tribute to Jefferson a new church organized in 1792 was named for his party, the Republican Methodist Church.

The problem of religion was by no means the only reaction of the political philosophy of the Revolution on Southern society. Besides an established church there existed an aristocracy of wealth and political power. How far could it be justified during a war waged in behalf of equality of economic liberties and government by consent? Again the principal stage of the controversy was Virginia. There the basis of the aristocracy was the land law. Towards entails the policy of the colony was more conservative than England, for while entails might be docked by judicial proceeding in the mother country, in the colony an act of the legislature was essential unless the property was less than £200 in value. Primogeniture was strictly enforced and inheritance always descended. Because of entails and primogeniture there arose in tidewater Virginia "a distinct set of families" who formed a kind of patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments. From this order the King habitually selected his Councillors of State, the hope of which distinction devoted the whole corps to the interests and will of the Crown. Indeed society tended to stratification. At the apex were the great landowners, protected by the laws of inheritance. Below them were the half breeds, younger sons who inherited the pride but not the wealth of their parents; next the pretenders, men who had acquired wealth and property by their own efforts and were anxious to rise into the aristocratic class. Finally were the yeomen or great mass of small farmers, caring little for social distinction, on whom depended the real progress of Virginia.

More distinctly than in the question of religion the leadership in land reform was assumed by Jefferson. In October 1776, while the discussion of the church question was under way, he introduced a bill "to enable tenants in taille to convey land in fee simple." After strenuous opposition it was adopted. At one stroke the privileged position of entailed property was overthrown, for, said the law, all that "hath or hereafter may have" an estate in fee taille should stand in possession of the same "in full and absolute fee simple." That so radical a measure should have been so readily adopted is remarkable; it is ample evidence that the Revolution was more than a revolt against England. Jefferson's aim in changing the land law was to "make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent, which nature has wisely provided for and scattered with equal hand through all its conditions."

But the abolition of entails was only the beginning of legal reform; there remained primogeniture, the criminal law, and the whole British heritage. These matters were referred to a committee of five. It made a report in 1779; only a few of its recommendations were then adopted, but in 1784 through the influence of Madison the report was published, and the second bulwark of landed aristocracy, primogeniture, was abolished. In its place was adopted a statute of descents. The eighteen clauses of this law are unsurpassed in all America as a species of revolt against British heritage. The rule of inheritance of the common law required the property of one dying intestate always to descend, never to ascend. A father could not inherit from a son, nor a grandfather from a grandson. Also the male issue was always preferred before the female; if there were no male heir the female heirs inherited equally. On the failure of lineal descendants the only collateral relations who could inherit were those "of the blood of the first purchaser"; that is, a kinsman, say a cousin of ten or twenty removes, would be preferred to a half brother. Now this whole structure of inheritance which had been built up in England and had been transplanted to Virginia, was swept away and intestate estates were directed to pass in equal shares to the children and their descendants; if there were none, to the father; if there was no father living, then to the mother, brothers, sisters, and their descendants; and if these were failing, the estate should be divided into two parts, one to go to the maternal kindred and the other to the paternal kindred.

This law removed the last privilege of the landed aristocracy. Its author was Jefferson. In the committee on revision Pendleton opposed it and wished to preserve the tradition of primogeniture by adopting the Hebrew principle of giving "a double portion to the elder son." Says Jefferson:

I observed that if the eldest son could eat twice as much, or do double the work, it might be a natural evidence of his right to a double portion; but being on a par in his power and wants with his brothers and sisters, he should be on a par also in the partition of the patrimony, and such was the decision of the other members.

Virginia was not alone in the reform of the land law. In South Carolina entails had been abolished in 1732 and in 1790 the rule of primogeniture was likewise set aside. Georgia in the constitution of 1777 prohibited primogeniture and required an equal division of property among the heirs. Not until 1784 was the reform accomplished in North Carolina, but the change was not so drastic as elsewhere, for male heirs were given preference over females; subsequent laws of 1795 and 1808 placed the matter on a practical parity with Virginia law.

That the course of land legislation influenced southern society profoundly was the conviction of native observers and foreign travellers. Not merely were existing entails destroyed, not merely was primogeniture abolished, but custom supported the principle. "The cases are rare, very rare," says Tucker, "in which a parent makes by his will a much more unequal division of property among his children than the law itself would make." Thus came a fairer distribution of wealth.

There is no longer a class of persons possessed of large inherited estates, who, in a luxurious and ostentatious style of living, greatly exceed the rest of the community; a much larger number of those who are wealthy have acquired their estates by their own talents or enterprise; and most of these last are commonly content with reaching the average of that more moderate standard of expense which public opinion requires, rather than the higher scale which it tolerates. Thus there were formerly many in Virginia who drove a coach and six, and now such an equipage is never seen. There were probably twice or three times as many four-horse carriages before the Revolution as there are at present, but the number of two-horse carriages may be now ten or even twenty times as great as at the former period. A few families, too, could boast of more plate than can now be met with; but the whole quantity in the country has increased twenty if not fifty fold. (*Life of Jefferson*, p. 93.)

A similar result is attributed to the abolition of primogeniture in South Carolina. Murray wrote:

The planters are generally impoverished by the division of property; they have lost many of their patrician notions (call them, if you will, prejudices). The increased commerce has raised to affluence, and consequently into fashionable society, many merchants with whom the planters would not associate on terms of intimacy fifty years ago; thus, while the society of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York is daily becoming more aristocratic, that of the Carolina capital is becoming more republican. (*Travels*, II, 188.)

Undoubtedly the Revolution wrought a change in the institution of private property and thereby altered the social structure. But the doctrine of the equality of man went further; it questioned the existing attitude of the law toward crime and the criminal and ushered in the modern humanitarian spirit. To the conservative mind of the eighteenth century severe penalties were essential; the protection of property was a supreme aim of government and the reform of the criminal was ignored. To the reformer, inspired by the doctrine of equality, penalties must be examined in the light of reason and the life and character of the criminal deserved consideration. Again the conflict between the forces of conservatism and reform centered in Virginia. There twenty-seven offenses incurred the penalty of death and among non-capital punishments were the lash, the stocks, slitting of ears, and branding. Again also the pioneer in the movement for reform was Thomas Jefferson. He was the author of a bill proportioning crimes and punishments, the pioneer of the modern humanitarian spirit. Says the statute:

> And whereas the reformation of offenders, though an object worthy the attention of the laws, is not effected at all by capital punishments, which exterminate instead of reforming, and should be the last melancholy resource against those whose existence is become inconsistent with the safety of their fellow-citizens, which also weakens the State by cutting off so many, who, if reformed, might be restored sound members to society, who, even under a course of correction, might be rendered useful in various labors for the public, and would be, living, an example and long-continued spectacle to deter others from committing the like offenses. And forasmuch as the experience of all ages and countries hath shewn that cruel and sanguinary laws defeat their own purpose, by engaging the benevolence of mankind to withhold prosecutions, to smother testimony, or to listen to it with bias; and by producing in many instances a total dispensation and impunity under the names of pardon and benefit of clergy; when, if the punishment were only proportioned to the injury, men would feel it their inclination, as well as their duty, to see the laws observed; and the power of dispensation, so dangerous and mischievous, which produces crimes by holding up a hope of impunity, might totally be abolished, so that men, while contemplating to perpetrate a crime, would see their punishment ensuing as necessity, as effects their causes, etc.

For such reasons the revisors proposed to reduce the twenty-seven capital crimes to two, treason and murder, and one-half of the property of those convicted should be forfeited to the next of kin of the one killed; corporal punishment and imprisonment were to be the penalties for most other offenses; however, for a few crimes, such as disfiguring another, "by cutting out or disabling the tongue, slitting or cutting off a nose, lip, or ear, branding, otherwise shall be maimed" the principle of the *lex talionis* was to be adopted. This latter feature of the bill did not meet the approval of Jefferson. He wrote:

The *Lex Talionis*, although a restitution of the Common Law, to the simplicity of which we have generally found it so difficult to return, will be revolting to the humanized feelings of modern times. An eye for an eye, and a hand for a hand, and a tooth for a tooth, will exhibit spectacles in execution whose moral effect would be questionable; and even the *membrum pro membro* of Bracton, or the punishment of the offending member, although long authorized by our law, for the same offense in a slave, has, you know, been not long since repealed in conformity with public sentiment. This needs reconsideration.

The proposed reform met bitter opposition. Minds that could not resist the cause of religious freedom, the separation of church and state, and the reform of the land law, would not yield to the heresy that penalties should be in proportion to the crime and the causes for execution be reduced to two. And so in 1785 Jefferson's bill was rejected. However, the revision of the criminal law was bound up with another issue: that of the survival of British statutes. The Convention of 1776 had declared the statutes prior to James I binding on Virginia. The abolition of this ordinance now became the objective of the reformers. It was accomplished in 1789 when the legislature repealed the ordinance. A new commission was then appointed to revise the law and at length in 1792 a code was reported and adopted in which all English statutes were declared to have no force in Virginia. With the law thus purged of British heritage, the humanitarian spirit had freer play and in 1796, the same session in which the first public school law was adopted and a plan for gradual emancipation of slavery considered, a bill was introduced to amend the penal laws by reducing the death penalties to two, and imposing on non-capital offenses service in a penitentiary where the character of the criminal might be reformed. A new champion of the cause now appeared, George Keith Taylor. In a notable speech he assembled all the arguments of the time in favor of humanitarianism. The existing penalties, he declared, were in violation of natural rights, for in the state of nature each man defends himself, but when he repels the mischief the "law commands him to pardon the offender." Life can be taken only in case of murder. "Against all other offenses I can either obtain effectual security at first, or effectual recompense afterwards. But against the murderer I can obtain neither. . . . Necessity therefore compels me to put him to death."

This law of nature becomes the fundamental law of states because, under the social compact from which governments have their origin, no power to impose the death penalty except for murder is granted. It is

also wasteful, for society loses units of production and no recompense is made to the person injured. Benefit of clergy as means of ameliorating the law simply makes the offender a marked man.

> Every one avoids him, no one chooses to give employment to a felon; but he must live, and, consequently, deprived of all means of honest subsistence, is compelled to continue his former course of iniquity.

Nor are harsh penalties in conformity to the philosophy of law. In a warm climate people are indolent and hate work; compulsory labor, therefore, is a better deterrent to crime than the threat of death. Severe laws do not improve manners; therefore adopt penalties that appeal to the sense of shame. Put into the criminal code something of the spirit of forgiveness and kindness of Christianity. Finally, let laws harmonize with the needs of population and let them not needlessly diminish the number of laborers in a land where labor is scarce.

Such were typical arguments of Taylor; they reflect as wide a reading in the social and political philosophy of the time as do writings of Jefferson or Madison. As a result the bill was not tabled but was adopted. The capital crimes were reduced to two, benefit of clergy was abolished, except for slaves, and the penitentiary was substituted for other offenses that had been capital.

Closely akin to the nascent sense of humanitarianism was the new spirit in education. As soon as the British administration collapsed, a new ideal of the obligation of the government toward intellectual training appeared; instead of a responsibility confined to the orphans and the poor, came a general obligation. Thus the State constitutions of North Carolina and Georgia clearly proclaimed the principle of State support of schools and universities. Moreover, education should be reformed and adapted to American needs rather than to European heritage. Thus during the war the Virginians reorganized the conservative College of William and Mary into a university and there were established a school of modern languages, a professorship of law, the first in the United States, and one of medicine, the second in the country. Georgia in 1783 adopted a comprehensive scheme for public high schools, one for each county, and in 1785 a plan for a State University which would include all the institutions of education in the State, and stimulate the cause of literature, was adopted. It was too advanced for actual conditions and so it remained for North Carolina to make the first practical educational achievement of the new era, the opening of the University in 1795. There is no greater tragedy in all southern history, with the exception of the survival of slavery, than the failure of the revolutionary philosophy in the realm of education. The traditions

of the past, the aversion to taxation, and the impractical, even aristocratic, character of the ideal which looked for political leadership rather than elevation of the masses, fixed its doom. A similar fate awaited the anti-slavery sentiment; to the doctrine of the equality of man, human bondage was intolerable, but no practical method of emancipation which would evade a race problem was ever formulated.

From the facts and tendencies thus outlined it is evident that the American Revolution wrought a profound reaction on the institutions and social structure of the South of colonial days. The results were religious freedom, a greater equality of property rights, reform of the criminal laws, efforts at public education and the emancipation of slaves. No wiser definition of history was ever made than the statement that it is philosophy teaching by example. What then, in the broader meaning of these terms, should the example of the Revolution contribute to our knowledge of the philosophy of politics and the nature of free society?

First of all, no great war can occur without making some modification or radical change in the internal life of the belligerent nations. Indeed I believe that war is often but one manifestation of a spirit of change or revolution working in civil as well as martial fields. At times reaction checks or opposes this spirit of change but in the end reaction gives way and readjustment takes place. Shakespeare grasped this idea in Julius Cæsar; he put into the mouth of Brutus just before the battle of Phillippi the memorable words:

> There is a tide in the affairs of men that leads onward.

It is the task of the thoughtful and earnest citizen to know this tide, to work with it, to guide and direct it, never to seek to impede it. Such is statesmanship. The great failure of Brutus was not the loss of a battle but his failure to realize that the foundations of the Republic were already gone and that the irresistible tide of the age was toward imperialism. No fine trait of personal character, no patriotic devotion to the past can obscure this fundamental fault—that the man had not the brains to understand forces greater than his own convictions.

In the period of the Revolution Jefferson and Madison caught the meaning of the revolt against Great Britain and swung with the tide. This is the basis of their statesmanship. Those who opposed them, though estimable in personal character, have today a minor place on the page of history.

Another reflection which must come if any comparison be drawn between the problems of the Revolution and those of today, is the futility

of applying to one age the political and social philosophy of the past. The apostles of progressivism reject the social compact theory as a basis for their program. They see in the natural right of the individual to life, liberty, and happiness, *laissez faire* individualism. In contrast how often do we hear conservatives say, "Give us the democracy of Jefferson." But viewed in the light of conditions as they existed in the eighteenth century the Jeffersonian ideal could be attained only by the abolition of special privilege, whether it was the privilege of church or landowner, by a new treatment of the criminal and of the enemies of society, and a new sense of state control over intellectual discipline. This in that day and time was radicalism. Apply seriously the principle of the equality of man and the consent of the governed, even the right to life, liberty, and happiness, to modern conditions and what will be the fate of tax exemption and certain financial problems, the present attitude of courts toward labor, and even the curriculum of our schools and colleges? If any have doubts let them read Jefferson's remarks or, better still, those of his friend John Taylor, on such matters as the nature of industry, the character of government bond issues, the nature of banking, and the best working type of democracy.

In conclusion I wish to raise this pertinent question: how much of the past really lives today, how much of it do we really inherit? The answer, I believe, is, of the forms very much, of the spirit very little. Let me illustrate. The statutes of descents adopted in the period of the Revolution still live; but the condition against which they were aimed, an unequal distribution of wealth, again exists, and in the light of this fact the statutes are ineffective formulæ. The humanitarian sentiment of the Revolution today has many monuments in the shape of penal institutions; but how often is the spirit and purpose, the reformation of the offender, submerged by the monuments? Again, religious freedom undoubtedly has survived. But the principle on which that freedom is based, the liberty of the human spirit and its right to opinion, is seriously challenged. Words and sentiments expressed freely by Jefferson and Lincoln, when today uttered, too often bring prosecution and imprisonment. The old conception of the fathers, that thought and speech must be free, no longer exists. We live in an age of restraint, not of absence of restraint.

Now, since the forms rather than the spirit of the past survive, is not he who really achieves something, whether he calls it conservatism or not, breaking new ground, and is he not therefore potentially a radical?

When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina

1890-1900

By John E. White
President Anderson College

Of course I am greatly pleased to be here as the guest of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, but if I should attempt to tell you why I am so pleased it would involve me at once with an old problem which has worried me enough already—the problem of the sensitive psychosis of the North Carolinian living away from home. It is difficult to explain that man satisfactorily. Some months ago I sought out the old Moravian Cemetery in Winston-Salem and was there trying to locate without immediate success the grave of John Henry Boner. An elderly gentleman walking by observed my search and guided me to the spot. "Are you interested in his poetry?" he asked. "Yes—no; I am more interested in the man. He is the man who broke his heart trying to interpret the sorrow and justify the conscience of a North Carolinian forced to live somewhere else." Standing there with this kind old gentleman, a minister of the Moravian church, I repeated the lines which North Carolinians know and love so well.

Why is it the "Tarheel" exile reacts within himself so keenly and yet so unsatisfactorily to his own conscience? He has all the inwardness of an interminable identity with North Carolina; cherishes the sense of it as a good fortune; avows the pride of it everywhere ardently; and yet feels that he is somehow guilty of a dreadful inconsistency. Have you not noticed that he is the most over-conscious North Carolinian in the world? I suppose it is because he has spoiled his right to be. He tries to make up to his conscience by protests of devotion. He revels in the zeal of the repentant renegade. I have often heard him at it on his visits home, fervently insisting that

"Tar Heel born and Tar Heel bred,"

he is going to die sometime far, far away,

"'Mid pleasures and palaces,"

and that if anybody should inquire about the lonely corpse, just tell them it's

"A Tar Heel dead."

Sometimes I have fancied that the elder brothers hear this prodigal's proposition impatiently and doubtfully, distrusting so much "Tar Heel" virtue that has to make apologies and excuses for itself. The elder

brothers never do understand and never can understand. It is only the prodigal who knows. And what he knows is this: that though he may die condemned he never was really guilty. In his Reminiscences, Alexander H. Stephens refers to a conversation with Reagan, of Texas, his fellow prisoner at Fort Warren after Lee's surrender, about their association and associates in Congress before the Civil War. He recalled a certain congressman named Felix O'Connell, and asked Reagan if he remembered him. "Yes, he was a very profane man and nearly always drunk." "That is true," said Stephens, "but he was the most religious man in Congress and about the only one who made it a point to attend the chaplain's prayer reverently. One day after his morning devotions in the House he took a seat beside me and said, 'Mr. Stephens, you are a Christian, aren't you? I have something to say to you, something that gnaws at my heart. My wife is a beautiful Christian, a saint on earth, and when she dies she will go right straight to heaven.' Then with broken voice he said, 'Mr. Stephens, I am afraid it will be the last I will see of her and that when I die I will go right straight to hell. But what I want to say to you is that if the good Lord does send me to hell He will lose one of the best friends He ever had in this world.'"

Now, I might have been invited somewhere else by some other literary and historical society, without wondering why; but sent for to come here under such dignified auspices, it is very different. I have heard of an Irishman who on being asked by a kind-hearted person if he would have a drink of good old apple brandy, made no reply at first, but struck an attitude and stood gazing up into the sky. "What are you looking at, Mike?" inquired his friend. "Bedad, sir," said Mike, "I thought an angel spoke to me." Somewhat so did I feel at first, Mr. President, when I received the invitation to be your guest this evening.

The second reflection on the invitation was more sobering. I began to question whether I was prepared to accept its scrutiny. Down in Atlanta we had a Deacon who was reported to his fellow Deacons as inclined to indulge over-much on occasions. A committee was appointed to visit him. They did so in due and solemn form. "Brother Henry," said the spokesman, "do you ever drink?" He looked at the committee, who were his companions and personal friends, and said, "Brethren, before I answer, may I ask you if this is an invitation or an investigation?" Your invitation to me, I assure you, was not accepted without hesitation.

It was the suggestion of your secretary that gave me at length enough confidence to venture. He indicated that I might deal profitably with North Carolina events from 1890 to 1900. I had been in a position to observe and somewhat to participate in the agitations of that period in

this State with reference to education. There were incidents and influences of historical fact and value in those times, of which no fair record had been made. Could I not, after the chastening of twenty years' absence from the State, set them in dispassionate order with emphasis only upon their bearing on the greater matters which followed after? So I am here to speak to you on "When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina."

I have referred to the disadvantages of the exile. There are some compensations. Distance does lend enchantment, and detachment does minister to judgment. I can, for instance, report on the impression North Carolina is now making for herself in the South and in the nation with more appreciation than if I were a part of it. You who are doing the work are conscious of disappointments and dissatisfactions with the State's achievements which do not trouble me. What is it that people in every section of this country are saying about North Carolina? They are saying to one another in critical comparisons, that North Carolina is the premier commonwealth of the South in progressive movements and that she is measuring pace with any State in the Union. Her achievements within twenty years have struck across the imagination of the whole country as remarkable and almost revolutionary. She has moved from the seventh place to the twenty-seventh in the value of manufactured products. She is a file leader of the nation in contribution of Federal taxes in support of the government. In the textile industry she contributes more to the demand markets and in the promotion of income to the cotton farmers of the South than any other State. She produces fifty per cent of all the lumber manufactured in the United States. She has first rank in minerals. So the reports run all along the line, of good roads and material improvements. But these things are not what attract the most astonished attention abroad. It is what the State has done in public education that makes greatest amazement. This is the achievement of fundamental relations to all other progress.

The Astounding Contrast

The educational expert coming from elsewhere to survey the widely-reported progress in North Carolina would observe two facts of conclusive import about what he finds in actual operation.

First: That the State has committed itself unreservedly to the acceptance and demonstration of the democratic theory of education. What is it? It is the theory in repugnance of the aristocratic theory in education. It proposes education by the State in logical construction; that is, big and broad foundations first, with superstructures in their

practical order. To be explicit, the common schools first, secondary schools second, collegiate and technical institutions third, and without a blind alley anywhere.

Second: That popular education in North Carolina is really popular. It is enthroned in the imagination and conscience of the people. Its enterprise rests securely in the affections of the citizen heart.

Now what is the historical bearing of these two facts of attainment in 1922 on the situation of education in North Carolina from 1890 to 1900? Simply this—Within less than a quarter of a century, North Carolina has shifted her whole front in popular education. It is a complete reversal of disposition and habit for a whole people. As a social phenomenon it is most remarkable.

In 1890, the undemocratic theory of education prevailed in the practical attitude of North Carolina educational leaders. That leadership was absorbed mainly with higher education and with the emphasis of it. It was in general their conception that education would percolate in intelligence through trained leadership down to the people. At any rate, in the lack of demand from the masses justifying taxation and legislative appropriations to the common schools they found encouragment for the aristocratic policy of trying to build from the top downward. The historian will explain this without difficulty. It will be remembered that Virginia had long been reckoned as the State of educational eminence in the South. Her theory was the aristocratic theory. The University of Virginia indicated the ideal of Southern statecraft in education. Thomas Jefferson led the way. His monument was seen and revered in the University at Charlottesville. No one took the pains to notice that theoretically his original program of education provided for a structure based upon an adequate system of common schools. It was only evident that he had consumed his practical passion on the University. The University of North Carolina followed the Virginia model. The effect of it through the years fixed the status of the common schools as of subordinate importance. The University at Chapel Hill, chartered in 1789, existed in glory and wide prestige for fifty years before there was any movement to establish a public elementary school in North Carolina. The law of 1839 providing for the first elementary public school was timorous, tentative and without great purpose to overcome the backwardness of public opinion. From 1839 to 1860, there appeared one man only with a passion for popular education. Calvin H. Wiley did his heroic stint of pleading with enough discouragement to break his heart. It drove him at last back to the quiet of a Presbyterian pastorate. The public school system from his day on,

existed and carried on meagerly under depression and with no influential championship. It was not popular with the educators, nor with the people. Its maintenance was openly questioned in college centers. In 1880 the students at the University debated the question: "Ought the Public School System of North Carolina to be Abolished?" Interesting enough, as his biographer indicates, this debate was promoted by Charles B. Aycock, of Wayne County, then on the eve of graduation. In 1889, the anniversary celebration at Wake Forest College provided a similar debate on the question: *"Resolved,* That the present Public School System in North Carolina is worthy of support." When the vote was taken by the large audience, the negative won overwhelmingly. Again, curious enough, your speaker this evening represented the negative and was warmly congratulated that he had shown conclusively that the public school system was not worthy of support. If the representatives of the public school system were asked why something was not done to improve and extend the system and make the common schools more worthy of respect, they had their answer. The Supreme Court of the State up to 1900 had held that free schools were not "a necessary purpose" and therefore were confined within the constitutional limitations of taxes. That doctrine was laid down in *Paysour vs. Commissioners from Gaston County,* Judge Merriman dissenting. This meant that for the common schools only a bone was left to pick after the 66 2-3 cents limit for State and county purposes of administration had been reached. What was left could only be applied to common schools. It was true, of course, that the constitution of the State carried the mandatory clause—"a four months' public school *shall* be maintained in every district." But the Supreme Court was not greatly impressed by that and did not regard the common schools as constituting "a necessary purpose." Thus the State of North Carolina stood in 1890. No one seemed greatly troubled by it. Secondary education by the State was of course impossible, except in a few cities. In the incorporated towns under municipal taxation there were only eight graded schools with high school instruction, and only two of them attempted as much as the tenth grade. In the country districts the elementary public schools, lately defined by the Public School Commission of North Carolina as "the basic institution of democracy," averaged sixty days a year in disreputable and despised one-room houses. Only half of the children of school age pretended to attend them at all. The little dole of money available in a district was the perquisite of inefficiency and often impatiently absorbed as an inconvenience by private schools to get the public school out of the way.

WHEN THE TIDE BEGAN TO TURN

Take your stand there in 1890 and tell me what outlook is there for popular education in North Carolina? Is there anything on the horizon of hope to justify the faint prophesy of what would actually occur in twenty years? Apparently nothing. The tide is set stubbornly in difficulty, indifference and prejudice. North Carolina was on the eve of a transformation with noboby expecting it. Within five years a current will be stirred in an unexpected quarter—an agitation will suddenly spring up which will become positive and powerful in appeal for the common schools. That agitation, controversial, factional, and seemingly reactionary at outset, will challenge public interest in the common schools and will begin to turn the thoughts of public men and the feelings of the people from apathy to a fighting resolution. However men may differ in their estimate of the worthiness or the unworthiness of the initial impulse of the propaganda of the Baptists and Methodists of those days, there are two features of it no one will dispute. It was impressive in volume, characterized by great earnestness, and commanded public response. The other feature was this: The agitation after 1895 concentered immediately in demands for adequate practical attention to the common schools. This is the story I have come to tell you.

In 1893 a change of administration at the University of North Carolina brought to that institution an assertive and aggressive leadership. This leadership went out after students and increased appropriations. Expressions emanated therefrom concerning the denominational colleges which were sharply resented. The old but suppressed antagonism between the State college and the denominational college flamed out. The county scholarship system, increasing appropriations from the legislature, and the alleged use of the State's money in loans to individual students created a situation of acute resentment. The first gun of the battle was fired by Dr. Charles E. Taylor, of Wake Forest College, in a pamphlet on "How Far Should a State Undertake to Educate?" In calm argumentative style this widely distributed pamphlet confirmed the State's right and duty to furnish primary education free to all, but disputed the State's function of free higher education. The response of protest was first heard in resolutions passed by the Roanoke Union of the Tar River Association in the summer of 1893. The Baptist Associations followed in the same line of discussion. The controversy gained headway, and at the Baptist State Convention in Elizabeth City, December, 1893, a resolution by Dr. J. D. Huffham was adopted which provided for a committee of five to seek concert of action by all the denomi-

national colleges, to memorialize the legislature, and to "secure if possible such arrangements as will enable the schools founded and controlled by citizens to do their work without unnecessary competition with the State schools." In 1894 the agitation was pressed further to the front by Dr. C. Durham, the field marshal of the Baptists. At the associations of that year and on through the next year to the day of his death in October, 1895, Dr. Durham concentrated all the passion and ability of his great personality in speeches which drew and held multitudes everywhere to sympathetic attention. The emphasis of his campaign turned more and more from the invidious note of protest against the University to the generous and patriotic appeal to North Carolinians to do their duty by the children of the State. Concurrently, in 1895, the first newspaper in the State to place the deplorable conditions of popular education before the public was the *Biblical Recorder,* then edited by Mr. J. W. Bailey. He opened up a consistent, reasonable, and increasing propaganda, showing week after week, in detail of facts and figures and arguments, what the low estate of the public school system portended for North Carolina civilization. In 1896 Dr. Durham's successor and Dr. John C. Kilgo of Trinity College joined with the editor of the *Recorder* with all their might, and the definite campaign for the common schools began to have a program with its objective in direct action for their relief. Already the new Superintendent of Education, Mr. Charles H. Mebane, elected by the Populist upheaval, had placed himself in coöperative relations with the Baptist and Methodist movement. The political conditions at that time favored the consolidation of influences for the change of State policies in education. The Populist influence woke up the Democratic masses to the sense of their powers of self-assertion. When that movement was over in 1898, the channels of popular sensation had been permanently widened and deepened in North Carolina. The Baptist Associations, and in a large degree the district Methodist Conferences, in that situation became public forums of the people, not for political discussion but for educational arousement. They passed unanimous resolutions, phrased in positive terms of demand, for a change of emphasis in education and for practical proposals to extend and improve the common schools. Three years, 1896-1898, it went on in that fashion until every section of the State had been affected and the people lined up so far as Baptists and Methodists could be properly organized for such a cause. There were two points vividly urged in behalf of popular education.

First: A change of policy, which meant a change of thinking on the part of leaders, from the aristocratic theory to the democratic theory of the public school system. It was argued after this style: "Let us

stop stacking our educational fodder from the top downward and do it according to common sense and experience, by laying the foundations first and then build thereon." It was envisioned that the public school system had no logical appeal for confidence until this was done, and that when it was done every educational interest of the State would flourish, no matter how the winds blew and the floods came, because it would be founded upon a rock. The proposition of course required direct appropriations from the Legislature to the common schools before any appropriations to higher education should be increased. The plea was for the established priority of the elementary schools in claims on educational statecraft.

Second: A change of heart on the part of the people who were immediately concerned. The condition of their schools was portrayed in heavy lines. Their inefficiency, brevity, and poverty of equipment were held up in rags and tatters. There was little note of controversy in these appeals—it was patriotic and pathetic. The spirit of coöperation with any hand stretched out for the healing of the open sore of North Carolina life was not only possible but desirable so far as the leaders of the campaign were concerned. In 1897 Dr. Charles D. McIver, who was outside the breastworks of the Baptist and Methodist agitation, and Mr. J. W. Bailey, who was distinctly a leader on the inside of it, were associated together respectively as chairman and secretary of a movement to promote a special-tax campaign. Alas for that, it was a dismal disappointment. Out of 938 districts, only seven voted the special tax. After that essay it was more evident than ever that the tide would not turn until a positive beginning had been made in the form of a pronounced policy of the General Assembly. In 1898 this was the battle-cry. The General Assembly must show the people that the State's policy was going in for the relief of the common schools and the precedence of their claims in all educational legislation. The Constitution was invoked as a challenge to the candidates for the Legislature since they were to swear to support and sustain it. They were questioned on the stump: "Will you put the common schools first in appropriation for education? Will you favor legislation to carry out as fast and far as possible the mandatory cause of the Constitution?" The election occurred in August, 1898. It soon became known that the return of the Democratic party to power would bring to Raleigh a General Assembly constituted largely of Baptists and Methodists without any significance of sectarianism, but with the great significance of fact that the Legislature was overwhelmingly strong for putting the common schools on a forward-moving program of legislation. The group of men who had led the agitation caused a bill to be drawn

appropriating out of the public treasury $100,000 for the common schools. Mr. Charles H. Mebane's was the hand that drew that bill. It was typewritten in copy in the office of the Mission Board of the Baptist State Convention and placed in the hands of its champions in the Senate and the House: Mr. Stephen McIntyre, of Robeson, and John B. Holman, of Iredell. It went through triumphantly, though not without opposition, both from the inside and from the outside of the Legislature. Historically this action marked the sharp, initial, practical beginning of that turn in the tide for popular education which in the next fifteen years would flood the State with enthusiasm for the present public school system in North Carolina.

In the nature of reminiscence of the good fighting of that year, I venture to recall that the Democratic State Executive Committee had realized that the campaign of the *Biblical Recorder* and others had won out. From that committee assurance was voluntarily proffered that no bills carrying appropriations for higher education would be permitted to pass the Legislature without the consent of those who were leading the fight in the State for the primacy of the common schools. The pledge of the Democratic leaders came to test before the joint committee on appropriations in the Legislature at its first meeting, and the State Executive Committee made good its unasked-for pledge absolutely. The appropriations desired by the University, the State Normal College, and the A. and M. College were referred to the generosity of Mr. Bailey and Mr. White. I am glad to tell you that they were as generous as possible under the circumstances, and that from that incident onward a new *entente* of fellowship and sympathy between the State colleges and the denominational colleges began a development uninterrupted at this hour.

The Great Consummation

With the dawn of 1900, seven years lay behind in which the gospel of popular education had been preached from platforms and pulpits reaching to every community in North Carolina. Public sentiment in the rural districts, aroused and sometimes inflamed, had been confirmed in repeated resolutions of public assemblies. The moribund situation had given way at the end of 1899 to the sense of something moving in a new direction for the public schools. With the dawn of 1900 conditions justified the leaders of the Democratic party in believing that a constitutional amendment carrying the 1908 educational qualificational clause for white people could be passed. We know what happened in North Carolina in that year. North Carolina in all her history has never known anything better than what did happen. Due

credit certainly must be given to the constitutional amendment for its coercive effect as law upon popular education. But the greatest thing that happened was Charles B. Aycock. North Carolina found her captain, gave him his own trumpet to blow, and the children's children standard to bear. Alas our captain! our captain! Among all the things cherished and preserved by your speaker of a somewhat oratorical life, nothing is more cherished than a copy of the Raleigh *Morning Post* of January 1, 1899, which reports in eight columns an address made in behalf of popular education before the joint session of the House and Senate on the night of December 31, 1898, in which this prophecy of a great Captain was pleaded:

> The president of a theological seminary was asked the other day what in his opinion was the greatest need of foreign missions. He reflected, and replied, "A great missionary." If I were asked what the indispensable necessity of popular education in North Carolina is at this hour, I would reflect and reply, "A great public man whose heart and brain, time, talents, energy, everything, is devoted to the cause of the wool-hatted and barefooted army of over 600,000 children whose only hope for instruction is in the public schools." I remarked to a gentleman yesterday that North Carolina offered the greatest opportunity for statesmanship in America. What I meant was that the condition of public education in this State, the deplorable situation with regards to our public schools in North Carolina afforded the greatest possible opportunity for some able man to be transformed from a politician into a statesman. And I believe it with all my heart that the man in the next ten years of North Carolina life who has been fashioned by nature and experience for public leadership, and who will be beside himself a fool, a crank, a dedicated, sanctified agitator for better public schools, whether parties nominate or people elect to office, or not, whether he offend or whether he please the newspapers, will create a career so persistent in its claims upon the conscience of our people, and so write himself into the history of a vital progress, and so entwine his life into the lives of thousands born and unborn, that sooner or later, when truth gets a hearing, as in God's good time it always does, that in the summing-up of achievement and the distribution of laurels, the sage of history will write his name in letters of fadeless luster.

Too eloquent by half, but a Hebrew prophet would have been very well satisfied with what was confirmed of its prophecy in North Carolina in the career of Charles B. Aycock.

The Democratic State Convention of April, 1900, that gave him its "harvest of hearts" and his nomination for Governor, met in the consciousness of great and deep emotions. It had its mind on the nomination of a man without particular regard for his gubernatorial qualities as an administrator. It had the sense of a new day which demanded a champion of democracy with especial reference to education. Before Aycock was nominated, a platform had been adopted for him to stand on. One of its planks was this:

We heartily commend the action of the General Assembly of 1899 for appropriating $100,000 for the benefit of the public schools in the State, and pledge ourselves to increase the school fund so as to make at least a four-months term in each year in every school district in the State.

I have pleasure in remembering the phraseology because I stood by the typewriter that clicked it off on the little slip of paper which was handed in to the Committee on Platform through the Hon. Mike Justice, of Rutherford. It is needless to say that Charles B. Aycock approved and in his inaugural address quoted it as the keynote pledge of the campaign he had made for the amendment. The election of Governor Aycock relieved the Baptist Associations and the Methodist Conferences instantly of every ounce of necessity to concern themselves in resolutions about the common schools in North Carolina. It put an end to persistent editorials and passionate speeches on that subject. Quite naturally to say, from the day he was elected to this hour there has never been a flutter of agitation in that quarter. There is no question in anybody's mind, for history has guaranteed that, as to who did the grand deed of individual leadership which swept the tide for popular education in North Carolina. The man's picture hangs in my home conspicuously among my household gods—Abraham Lincoln, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson—and I look at his face every day. The night before he died in Birmingham I walked up and down with him in the shed of the old union depot in Atlanta, and we talked of things that were and are and were to be—of the past and the future of his career. His was a nature of all generosity. He said in kind reference to two men whose names I will not call, "Our educational movement in North Carolina, beginning with the campaign for the amendment, found the soil prepared for it."

We know the story of 1901 to 1922. Everybody knows it, and everybody honors the men of it. We know that J. Y. Joyner became the organizing genius and the practical administrator of the great change. We know that E. C. Brooks and his colleagues have confirmed and greatly continued the advance of the public school system. No one will be allowed to forget the consuming zeal of Charles D. McIver and others. I have only given you a leaf of unwritten record which the historian cannot neglect. The pioneering of effective propaganda for the common schools in North Carolina was as I have related it. We were the first to break with a shout that had echoes in it into the dreary and complacent sea of inertia and stolid prejudice. The shibboleths of that agitation became the principles of this progress which tingles in the hearts and dances in the eyes of North Carolinians at home and abroad in 1922.

It was read in the newspapers a few months ago that when Marshal Foch, the Generalissimo of the World War, in his American tour came to the city of Detroit he was wearied to exhaustion. The clamorous applause of the multitude had ceased to arouse his interest. There the mayor of the city turned to him and told him a little story of how Hennipin had sailed into the Detroit River in 1679 and had written these words in his diary:

> Those who will one day have the happiness to possess this fertile plain and pleasant strait will be very much obliged to those who have shown the way.

At these words the tears rushed to the eyes of the great soldier.

Two Wake County Editors Whose Work Has Influenced the World

By Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain

History is an ordering and condensing of social detail so as to present facts as truth.

Because the study of small communities and the influence going out from them is an introduction, and indeed the best of introductions to history in its broader sense, and because such study is thoroughly fascinating by reason of its own intrinsic interest, I have chosen for my subject the work of two editors, whose personalities and the ideas they advocated are intimately twined into the progress of our county.

More than a century ago Joseph Gales became editor of the first newspaper established at the capital of North Carolina. It was a Jeffersonian sheet; it represented popular aspirations, and was the channel through which many ideas of those fermenting times were brought home to the minds, and influenced the opinions of the citizens of old North Carolina.

Joseph Gales came here in the last months of 1799. He was a remarkable man for ability, for adventure, and for wide experience of men. The fact that he was self-educated, and was at the same time an experienced journalist, made him the more skillful in sowing ideas among the plain people of our community; and he must surely have furnished the kindly leisures of our great-grandfathers with much first-hand matter to discuss. His sympathy with his chosen home, and his thorough identification of himself with it, made him a man who would be readily liked and often quoted.

Not many newspapers were published then, but those few were thoroughly read. They led public opinion. They were not so often as today mere followers of the prevalent beliefs, and intensifiers of the prejudices of their readers. Instead of walking but a few steps in front of the largest, noisiest crowd, as some so-called "yellow journals" have done, they had more originality. They were formative influences, even as viewed through the diminishing telescope of the lapse of time.

Gales had been a poor boy, born in Yorkshire, England, apprenticed to a printer; and he set up for himself in due time his own newspaper in Sheffield, already a great manufacturing town. He and his paper were identified with the best liberal Whig ideals of England, just subsequent to the defeat of the British at Yorktown—the time when Pitt and the statesmen with him bethought themselves of the reason-

ableness of those demands, which when denied to their colonies had brought on the successful war of the Revolution.

In the England of that time reform, scientific discovery, the growth of manufacturing, the increase of dissent, and the rosy dawn of the French Revolution were all mixed into a web of rapid changes. Among the advocates of the several measures of reform, Gales, by means of his influential paper, was the peer of any. He was assisted in his editorship by a wife whose antecedents were more cultured than his own, but who shared his opinions, and was a woman of the greatest talent and spirit. She was one of the early "Blue Stockings." She wrote novels, and although the work of her pioneer efforts at self-expression, as well as that of all the rest of her sister authoresses, not excepting the great Mrs. Hannah Moore herself, has gone completely out of fashion, yet their influence on their age was great. Dr. Samuel Johnson said of these ladies: "A woman's preaching or writing is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." So spoke the Great Lexicographer, that knock-down joker.

Gales's partner in his publishing business in Sheffield was James Montgomery, a writer of hymns, which are still to be found in our hymn books. "Hail to the Lord's Anointed" is one, and "Hark the Song of Jubilee!" another. In the second we can still feel the breath of new hope for humanity such as men felt when France convened her first "States General." The hymn might be called a sanctified "Ca Ira."

Gales must have been aware of the first Sunday school in 1781. He afterwards became the first Sunday school superintendent in Raleigh, when union services for the little city were held in the old State House. He was a religious man. He felt a devoted admiration for Dr. Priestley of Birmingham. He did not on that account feel afraid to show friendship to Thomas Paine, that celebrated Deistic Quaker whose opportune book, "The Rights of Man," set American sentiment unitedly in the direction of the Revolution, and just in the nick of time.

Although Paine was later furnished with horns and a tail by the popular imagination, after his other work, "The Age of Reason," was printed, in which he insisted that belief in God must go the same way as submission to kings; yet he was a writer of power who had great influence in his day. Mrs. Gales said of him, when she entertained him in her house, that she found him "a gentle, kindly soul."

Dr. Priestley, the learned Unitarian divine, who interspersed his treatises on theology and early excursions into the "Higher Criticism," the first that we hear of, with books about his own scientific discoveries,

was also an intimate friend of the Galeses, and both he and his friends were caught in the same back-wash of conservative sentiment when the French killed their king.

So terribly did this deed shock Englishmen that the partisans of the French Revolution in England, of whom Edmund Burke was one, could scarcely disown all ideas connected with it hastily enough; and because some convinced liberals, *Radicals* they were then called, continued to demand prison reform and the suppression of "Rotten Boroughs," they were subjected to the persecution of Tory mobs. Dr. Priestley's laboratory apparatus was thrown into the street in Birmingham, in the same way as the types of Joseph Gales' printing office in Sheffield. Both were indicted for treason. Both had to flee to America.

Joseph Gales remained two years in Schleswig-Holstein, then a part of Denmark, there awaiting his wife, and after her coming, failing immediate departure, as they planned, because a seaworthy vessel was not at once available.

Mrs. Gales, no clinging vine she, sold out the business successfully before she went to Denmark, and the pair with their family reached Philadelphia safely in 1795.

I would like to stop and turn back here, to tell in detail how bravely Mrs. Gales faced her own mob, how she was protected in her home by the working men of Sheffield, after her husband's flight, and how, when they had begun their voyage across the ocean, when their vessel was taken by pirates, she talked these sea-hawks into letting their prey sail on unharmed to America. Arriving there, how she reproved Willie Jones for profane swearing, how she wrote the first novel ever printed in North Carolina—the first, and for so very long, the only one.

Also it would be good hunting to describe the time when the Tory authorities had to send for Joseph Gales, the printer, to quiet a wild Sheffield mob, which he was able to pacify; and to tell how Gales used his unexpected delay in Holland to learn two new languages, and the then unusual art of shorthand. How also he grew friendly with many celebrated Emigrés, and how Madame de Genlis wished to adopt the baby Altona Gales, and again, how they saw General Pichegru, of the red Revolutionary Army of France, go skating to the conquest of Holland over the ice of the River Elbe.

After all these exciting experiences the pair must have been glad to reach a quiet haven and a life of less uncertainty, when, in the fall of 1799, they came to Raleigh to start the *Raleigh Register*.

Among the North Carolina delegation to Congress, still meeting in Philadelphia, were Nathaniel Macon and Willie Jones. Both were Jeffersonians. Then as now people were divided into two opinions.

Conservatives who did not fully trust the common man, liberals who were willing to try him. At that time, much more than today, party lines were strictly drawn between these two camps. Jefferson, who was a strong enthusiast for the French ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, gave his name to the rising party representing these sentiments.

North Carolina had at that time more population than New York State.

President Adams and the Federalists had lately passed the "Alien and Sedition Acts," which were most unpopular. North Carolina was a close State politically, and the Jeffersonians saw their opportunity. They were glad to discover in Joseph Gales, lately come to Philadelphia, an able man whose political opinions were distinctly Jeffersonian, who could worthily edit the paper they wished to start in Raleigh, that new little Capital-in-the-woods.

Gales' new paper was the old Sheffield one revived. It bore the same name, *The Register.* It was decorated with the same emblem, or heading, of the liberty pole and cap, and it expressed the same sympathy for the under dog. It professed also the same passion for reform as when it had been issued in Sheffield. Its editor was from henceforth a part of this city. He was its mayor for term after term. He became State Printer after the Jeffersonians or "Republicans" came into power.

He opened a book shop when he arrived in Raleigh, and among his first list of books for sale we find the authors Godwin, Paine, Rousseau and Adam Smith. In one of his early editorials occur these words: "What is the world but one wide family on which the Common Parent looks with the eye of equal protection." Again, "To choose a good cause is to select one which selfish men dislike."

His paper became a great disseminator of information on agricultural subjects; it published careful accounts of the discoveries and improvements which came so thickly in the beginning of the century past. Mr. Gales was always a friend to every idea which meant progress or benefit to those who could not help themselves. Education, Temperance, Gradual Abolition of Slavery, Care of the Insane, Internal Improvements—in all these questions he was far ahead of his fellow citizens.

He trained three generations of editors. His son and his son-in-law were partners in establishing and editing the *National Intelligencer,* the first Washington newspaper, which gave authoritative reports of the debates of Congress. Another son and a son's son were successively editors of Raleigh. His descendants are many and worthy today.

Such a man's influence is impossible to estimate, difficult to limit. I think we can take for granted for that time, as for this, the dearth of constructive reasoning and the lack of educational progressive leadership, and may be allowed to justify high praise of a man who supplied both to his State for many years, and indirectly to his country.

Some one has said that the axis of the earth sticks out visibly at the place which each of us calls home. In connecting the life of Mr. Gales with our center, we noted the beginning, how it was rooted in significant times of his native England, while the flowering came with us. American history has not hitherto taken enough notice of or given enough credit to our "Americans by Choice."

The second of these chosen sowers of seed, of whom I am to speak, had indeed his day in the great world, and a glorious one; but it was here on our own soil, here on our own red clay hills that he had his origin. Some day we will better value the distinction which this gives us.

The recently published *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page,* by Hendrick, is an admirably planned book, with skillful selection of those letters which best show the mind of the man. It has one fault which slaps a Wake County, North Carolina, person smartly in the face. Mr. Hendrick always thinks of Walter Page as a world figure. He would rather have him, as it seems, just happen, like Melchisedec, without genealogy or local attachment. He emphasizes this. He takes pains to tell us that Mr. Page's education was almost wholly obtained outside of North Carolina, and ignores the home influence on a young man's life and thought. He stresses the fact that Mr. Page was unappreciated, and therefore had to leave us.

Now when a man's forbears have lived for three generations in a locality, and when he himself has continuously remained there until his later teens, he can never lose the mark of his nativity, even if he wishes it very earnestly. Mr. Page never wished anything like that for a moment. People who knew him, and who knew his "folks," will maintain that he is no "bud variation" or "mutation." He was the "square-root of his ancestors."

That exquisite precision of his in the use of words, whereby things are said finally, and the nerve of a fallacy is punctured so that it can never squirm again, is not unknown as a talent in some of his kin. As a boy he could marshal his thoughts and tell them in plain, well-selected words. That he was well educated was his own doing. It was the quality of the man who went to Johns Hopkins, and to Germany, which made the education effective.

When he came to Raleigh to edit the *Chronicle* he had become a most active principle, fit to stir up a passive society. Some people are born with the love of the past in their hearts, and others with the questioning of existing institutions upon their lips. Of the latter was young Walter Page.

Imagine such a man, in the vigor of his independent youth, turned loose in a land of sore memories. Here at that time it was like the home of the old, where all is kept sacred; a place where, after supreme effort relaxed, the daily habit was to "sit in the sun and tell old tales." Being the man he was, he felt scant sympathy with all this, as a regnant mood. He did not truly estimate the depth of the post-war ennui. He did not think seriously enough of the old soldier's inevitable worship of the past.

They say that even today, in this America, there are young men who cannot get away from the World War, who cannot march breast forward into the new day. They turn back mentally, because they feel that their greatest significance as individuals is already past.

Mr. Page loved North Carolina. He saw her possibilities. He knew her latent power. He inspired many of those who have brought about, since then, the things that have counted for progress. He shot his ideas, like arrows, into the hearts of his circle of young men friends. The things he told us, the shrewd comments he injected under our hides by his keen criticism, we have never forgotten. Even till this day we are taking the time to prove that he overstated, by doing all those things which he evidently feared we might not do.

Prophets have been noted for telling unpleasant truths from the earliest times, and every young man who begins reformer is made to suffer for it.

Very soon, because we could not pay him a living for his wares, he went to fill a more conspicuous place than that of the small town editor of a weekly newspaper. The editorship of several significant periodicals culminated for him in the chair of the staid, long-established, oracular *Atlantic Monthly* of Boston. From that he went to become founder of *The World's Work,* more his own pattern of a monthly.

When he left North Carolina he took her with him. As often as he visited his old home he brought her some solution to her problems. A man is—precisely what he does. For the great "State College" which calls its thousand young men each year and teaches them to use the State's resources, for the North Carolina Woman's College which utilizes the real value of our girls' brains, so long a waste product—for the first and for the second of these educational achievements I am not

going to give him *all* the credit. Let him portion out the praise who can: so much to Page, so much to the Watauga Club, so much to those other notable apostles of better education, such as McIver and Aycock.

Whatever was done then, Page was there, in word and inspiration, at the doing of it. But perhaps his greatest service to his own State was his interest in the health welfare of our Southern country.

When Dr. Stiles, of the Education Bureau, gave in Raleigh his first semi-public lecture on the discovery of the cause of the malady which was killing so many at the South, I sat upon the front bench to hear him, the only woman there, eyed as a strange cat in the garret by the group of physicians, plus a few cotton mill executives, there assembled. The great calming satisfaction, felt when the true reason for a strange and baffling phenomenon is laid in one's hand to keep forever, was my abundant reward when I went away.

We know all about these things now. A cotton mill village, a country school, may be as rosy and as healthy as to its children as the best residence street. This also by the help of Walter Page. Yes, he has kept us on our toes, to show how well we can do, "but and if we would." We should thank him, we should honor him, we should never take it out in roasting his one novel, "The Southerner," because in it he never quite guessed the feelings of the old Confederate soldier, first defeated, and then "excoriated" by Reconstruction doings!

All the story of the great World War is not yet written. Page's acting of his own part as Ambassador to Great Britain, which I admire exceedingly, is however ready for posterity's verdict.

Some recent reviewer has called him the "Modern Franklin," inasmuch as he was the interpreter of things American to the great British Empire, when, lacking mutual understanding, we might have gone under together along with our common civilization.

He seems also to have had laid on him the task of expressing England's inarticulate soul to America, to have combated successfully the dogged determination of certain elements not to consider the inevitability of our joining the Allies.

International sympathy and international friendship was better than too much raw international candor; and here again I shall claim that old kinship; that Wake County, North Carolina, *folksyness,* alive in her distinguished son, played a part in saving the world when it reinforced the greater qualities possessed by Walter Hines Page. In North Carolina we enjoy people, we like kindly gossip, we discuss and taste the differences of personality among our friends with loving discrimination, as some more sophisticated societies forget to do.

Mr. Page filled the conceptions of the English as to true democratic ways and easy manners. He liked their individuality, and they felt it; he became to them a more idealistic Franklin, a truly democratic representative of a great Democracy. He was precisely the man; they esteemed him.

Besides all this, we read in his letters how well his heart remembered the things his boyhood knew.

How clearly we hear this when he chooses to touch that key. How he recalled the heart of the struggling woods where he roamed as a boy; how he remembered the smells of growing things outdoors under our sweltering summer sun; how he saw in his mind's eye the glorious color of a clay bank in the golden light of autumn, and heard the whirr of the partridge startling out of the blackberry thicket in early winter.

Nature he knew and loved as his boyhood had found it. The pine trees were always "kind to him." How dear to him was that "Little grove of long-leaved pines" in the country he called his own!

Yes, I take issue with his excellent biographer; he was a Southerner. He was far more that person than the gentleman in question might ever be able to guess. Because of that fact and that nurture he was a most important link, I am tempted to say the most important link in the final will united to victory of the Allies.

Missions of the Moravians in North Carolina Among Southern Indian Tribes

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History and fiction of which the American Indian is the subject are invested with peculiar fascination and interest. Those who remember the high privilege, while at school, of taking out a library book on Friday afternoons will, most likely, have a picture in their minds of the shelf upon which stood the *Leather-Stocking Tales* or other Indian books.

Historic haunts of the Indian; scenes of his special activity, good or evil; arrow-heads and other Indian relics have about them an unfailing glow of romance. Indian names are retained regardless of difficult spelling and pronunciation.

The writer has experienced all these thrills but wishes to record that, for him, the greatest interest attaching to the Indian has been to observe him responding to the Gospel. This is the best part of Indian lore.

Moravian mission history is particularly rich in this field, for the Indians ever lay near to the hearts of the Moravian brethren who were constrained by the love of Christ to send companies from their congregations in the Old World as heralds of the Gospel to the aborigines of America.

The story of this particular mission among southern tribes of the United States—only a small part of the manifold labors of the Moravians with the Indians—properly belongs into the history of Wachovia, the Moravian settlement in North Carolina which, in turn, is one of the main chapters in the history of our State.

The essential values of a human life are spiritual. Beneath the civilization, progress and prosperity of today lie spiritual fundamentals which are in the greatest danger of being overlooked in our materialistic age. Christian missions have laid this foundation and failing to maintain it will topple the whole superstructure man has built into ruin. Lest we lose our vision in the blinding glare of materialism; lest we pile *things* so high that we cannot see *God;* stories of the messengers of the Cross should continue to be written and read, and, above all, Christians need increasingly to react to the Great Commission.

The Moravian Church which undertook this mission to southern Indian tribes was organized in 1457 at the very dawn of Protestantism, by spiritually-minded followers of John Hus and embraced 400 parishes

and 200,000 members in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland at the time when Martin Luther appeared. Seemingly crushed after the terrific convulsions of the Anti-Reformation during the Thirty Years' War, a "Hidden Seed" was preserved by God, and members of the Unitas Fratrum found asylum from persecution on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony in 1722. Here the Moravian Church was renewed by Divine power in 1727. Already in 1732, the first missionaries were sent to the blacks on the island of St. Thomas and the following year two brethren went to the Eskimos in Greenland. The men who were the pioneers in the evangelization of the southern Indians belonged to a church which regarded the Master's unmistakable "go" not as a suggestion nor an option, but as a *command* to be obeyed. The Moravian Brethren had one passion and only one: to make Christ known to all ranks and conditions of men.

Hence, to hear of the Indians who inhabited the New World was a desire created in the hearts of the Moravians to take to them the Gospel. Incidentally, this would give their church a home in America, where, unfettered and unhindered, the Moravian Brethren could live and develop their own life of devotion to God.

A liberal grant of land was secured in 1734 from the trustees of the Georgia colony near the town of Savannah, and early in 1735 a company of ten men arrived, each master of a trade, and thus together fitted to form a settlement. This was begun close to the town and strengthened by the arrival of additional Moravian colonists. With characteristic thoroughness, substantial homes were built and fields planted. The congregation was fully organized and could now enter upon the undertaking for which it had been sent.

Objects of the first endeavors were the *Creeks,* probably so called by English traders from the large number of creeks in their country.

Broadly considered, the Creek Nation was a confederacy of Uchees, Chocktaws, Chickasaws, and others, all belonging to the general family of Muskhogee. Their tradition points to the country west of the Mississippi as the primeval seat of this people. There they were mound-builders. The same tradition tells of the long and arduous journey incident to their emigration from the ancestral home to the location where they were discovered by the white men. Opposed by numerous and valiant tribes, the Muskhogee had fought their way to present abodes.

These were located chiefly in the northern Alabama and along the upper and middle valley of the Chattahoochie River in Georgia and the Creeks thus occupied a central position among the tribes of the Gulf States, parts of which tribes they were continually, by conquest, incorporating into their Nation.

The Creeks lived in well-constructed log houses, provided with wooden, clay-lined chimneys. Villages were permanent and arranged in a rectangle around an open space reserved for public gatherings, and especially, the annual "green corn dance"—a religious exercise of thanksgiving.

Each village had its chief and its own insignia. The work in the fields was usually done in common under the paternal supervision of the chief. Over an entire clan was the "micco" or head chief.

A curious custom divided the towns into "white" and "red"—marked by poles of these colors—which division was of great importance in deciding the policy of the Nation when an occasion for war arose: the "red" towns presenting the arguments for war; the "white" championing peace.

Characteristics of these Indians were life on a comparatively high moral plane; absence of the grosser forms of vice until corrupted by intercourse with unscrupulous whites; and eagerness to learn, coupled with great ability to master arts and crafts; vague ideas of a Supreme Being, and an immortality of the soul on a low, material basis. Conjurers and charms wielded a great influence among them.

When the English were establishing the Carolina colony the Creeks sent envoys to Charleston with offers of friendship and alliance, which treaty was made and kept inviolable up to 1773, when the continued encroachments on the Indians' land by white settlers caused repeated uprisings. During the Revolutionary War the Creeks were generally hostile to the Americans and it was not until 1795 that peace was finally concluded. Again in the War of 1812 the Creeks allied themselves with the English and perpetrated some fearful massacres before they were completely crushed and compelled to sue for peace in which contract they were forced to cede about one-half their former territory. Submissively, they retired to their reservations and ultimately were transported west of the Mississippi where they comprised one of the "Five Civilized Tribes."

The Moravian settlers in Georgia continually came in contact with Yamacraw clan of the Creeks whose chief, Tomotschatschi, was the firm friend of the whites, and he and his people paid friendly visits to the Moravians. They indicated a desire to have some of the Brethren come and live among them to teach useful arts and, especially, to tell them the "Great Word." Accordingly, in July, 1737, a Moravian missionary and wife went to live among them with intent to learn the language and to tell them of their Savior.

Further development came when General Oglethorpe agreed to provide a schoolhouse for Indian children near Tomotschatschi's village if

the Moravians would build and man the school and preach the Gospel, which offer they eagerly accepted. The house was erected on an island in the Savannah River a mile above the town and school was begun under most favorable auspices: the children readily learning to read and write and memorize verses of Scripture; their elders looking on with wonder and approval.

Then, in 1737 and 1738, came rumors of a threatened invasion of Georgia by the Spaniards from Florida, and the whole colony was called to arms. In vain the Moravian Brethren insisted on their previous agreement with the trustees, not to be required to bear arms: the ultimate verdict was that if they would not remain in Georgia as citizens they might not remain as missionaries. Thus, unexpectedly, the open door was shut. The Moravians were glad, in 1740, to accept the offer of George Whitefield to sail with him to Pennsylvania where possibilities for a Moravian settlement and missionary labors were developing. Within a few years they became firmly established around their northern center, Bethlehem, Pa., and inaugurated widespread and flourishing missions among northern Indian tribes.

A new sphere came for work in the South when leaders of the Moravian Church in England in 1749 began negotiations with Lord Granville for the purchase of a large tract of land in North Carolina. One hundred thousand acres were purchased and selected in the Piedmont section of our State for a settlement of the Brethren. The tract was named "Wachovia." As in Georgia, the two objects for the beginning in North Carolina were: holiness of life and separation for mission service.

A company of twelve men left Bethlehem, Pa., October 8, 1753, and journeyed through the trackless forests to Wachovia where they arrived on November 17 and their first settlement, Bethabara, was begun in a beautiful location five miles northwest of Winston-Salem. Salem, the principal and central town was begun in 1766 and became, in 1771, the seat of a district Moravian center around which has developed the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in America.

Attracted by kindness and hospitality, parties of Creek and Cherokee Indians soon made beaten paths to Bethabara which they called "the Dutch fort where there are good people and much bread."

Nearness to the southern Indians, so desirable for the purposes of a mission, was very dangerous during the years 1759-1761, as the Creeks and Cherokees were embroiled in the French and Indian War. Bethabara was stockaded and many refugees were accommodated. The mill supplied the surrounding country with flour during this perilous period. The Indians planned several times to attack the village. On one oc-

casion, the ringing of the church bell struck fear into their hearts and they hastily withdrew, for they imagined their plans had been discovered. Another assault was averted when the advancing savages were startled by the blast of the horn of the watchman who was merely announcing the hour.

When peace had come, the Brethren turned their attention, once more, to Indian missions. Several evangelistic tours were made into Creek and Cherokee settlements. Letters were sent to the Commandant at Fort Prince George, Cherokee country, to ascertain possibilities for a permanent mission. A courteous and favorable reply gave assurance that the Cherokees would welcome missionaries. A Cherokee chief who passed through Salem in 1775 expressed the same opinion.

Preparations to send missionaries were at once made but were broken off by the Revolutionary War and it is to be ascribed to God's merciful Providence alone that the Moravian towns were not destroyed.

Peace having been concluded and the Indian tribes having become wards of the United States Government, the Moravians resolved upon an official inspection of the Cherokee country along the Tennessee River. This was done in 1784. By the kindness of the United States agent a Council was arranged in the vicinity of Knoxville and twenty chiefs assembled. Through an interpreter the Cherokees were asked whether they wished to be instructed about their God and Creator and whether, for this purpose, a few of the good Moravian men could live among them. The head chief, Tayhill, asked time for deliberation. After two hours, he rose and said he was glad for the men who wished to come to tell them about God, "the Great Man who lives above," but he could give no definite answer until the other chiefs returned from the hunt. At the annual Council on Long Island in the Holston River they would render definite decision.

Before the expiration of the year new disputes arose involving the Cherokees in war with the neighboring states. To avoid further trouble, white people were forbidden to settle among the Indians except upon special license from the Government. For a period of fifteen years Moravian connection with the Cherokees was broken off.

In 1799, a missionary sent by the "New York Missionary Society" to the Chickasaws embodied in his report this clause which had, as some of them said, "the effect of an electric spark" on the Salem Moravians: "The Cherokees who reside in the vicinity of Tennessee are desirous of having missionaries among them."

The Executive Board in Salem at once deputed two Brethren on a reconnoitering journey. They reached Knoxville November 6, 1799, and proceeded to the Government Indian Agency at Tellico Blockhouse

where they were cordially received but learned they had come too late for that year. Three weeks before there had been 4,000 Cherokees at Tellico to receive their annual presents from the Government. Now all were on the hunt and would not return until the end of winter. The envoys from Salem set down the purpose for their coming in writing for the Commandant at Tellico who promised his good offices to secure the consent of the Chiefs. The paper ended with this sentence: "The happiness of the poor Indian is a weighty matter to our Society and the establishment of a mission among them is seriously thought of."

Captain Buttler delivered a lengthy "Talk," on the basis of this paper, to Chiefs "Little Turkey" and "Bloody Fellow" on May 9, 1800, urging them to accept the offers of the Moravians. His talk was well received by them and they promised to lay this business before the Council.

The same deputies were sent from Salem September, 1800, to treat with the Cherokees when they would gather for the annuity. They arrived in good time, and after the business of the Government was completed, a full Council of the chiefs was convened, before which the missionaries made their plea in person. Long parleys ensued. The chiefs stressed mainly their desire to have the children educated, and insisted, also, that the missionaries feed and clothe them. They adroitly avoided any reference to the preaching of the Gospel. The Council met on successive days and sometimes it seemed as if the efforts of the Moravians to gain entrance to the Cherokees would be futile. At last "Doublehead" answered for "Little Turkey" as follows:

> Respecting those missionaries, it has been nearly twelve months since they paid us the first visit. Now I address myself to the chiefs of my nation. I hope it will be well understood. The desire of these gentlemen appears to be good, to instruct us and our children. These gentlemen, I hope, will make the experiment; we will be the judge from their conduct and their attention to us and our children. Should they not comply as now stated, the agent will be the judge for the red people.

The Cherokees having given permission, application was made to President Adams for license to proceed, which was granted with wide liberties and issued by the Secretary of War. Thus, after years of blocked efforts and waiting, after strenuous and fatiguing journeys beset with difficulties and sickness, after long consultations with chiefs and Government officials, the way was now open for the Moravian Church in Salem to send missionaries to live among the Cherokees.

The name applied to this tribe has no meaning in their own language. They called themselves by the name "Ani-yun-wiya," which means "real people."

Cherokees have been described as the "mountaineers of aboriginal America," and it is quite reasonable to believe that they were the original inhabitants of the southeastern portion of the United States. They could not tell, when first found by the white man, whether they possessed their land by right of discovery or by conquest.

Linguistically, the Cherokees belong to the Iroquoian stock, though grammatical differences indicate that the separation must have occurred at a very early time.

In physical appearance the Cherokees were a splendid race, tall and athletic. The women differed from those of other tribes, being tall, erect and of a willowy, delicate frame with features of perfect symmetry. Cherokees enjoyed greater longevity than any of the Indian nations: it was pure, mountain air they breathed and clear mountain streams from which they drank.

They lived in permanent villages of substantially-built log cabins and depended for livelihood chiefly upon agriculture, raising large crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins.

Cherokee women, far from being plodding squaws and slaves of their husbands, ruled the house; their power resting chiefly upon three ancient customs:

1. Marriage could be dissolved when one of the parties so wished;
2. Man and wife did not hold property in common;
3. Children belonged to the mother and her clan, hence, if man and wife disagreed, his own children and his wife's clan were against him.

There was considerable intermarriage of white men among the Cherokees at an early date. They were traders of the ante-Revolutionary period or Americans from the back settlements.

Cherokees believed in an Almighty Being who created all things; among others, he built the first Indian of red clay. They believed in a life after death, either blissful or baleful, as the result of the life lived on earth. Both good and evil spirits were recognized, and were able to live in man. Sacrifices were made and religious festivals observed in charge of sorcerers who had the Cherokees very much in their power. The Cherokees had well-defined traditions of the Deluge. Whether these date back only to teachers of the days of the Spanish invasion at the beginning of the sixteenth century or to remote antiquity, forever hidden with other mysteries about the origin of these children of the forest, is a matter of conjecture.

The first political convention between the Cherokees and the English was held in 1730. Sir Alexander Cumings was agent of King George II, and on the appointed day the Cherokees seated Sir Alexander on a

stump, well covered with furs, and stroked him with thirteen eagles' tails and sang around him from morning to night, and then, on bended knee, declared themselves to be dutiful subjects of the King.

This comity was interrupted during the French and Indian War, but peace was restored in 1761, and, in the following year, a British lieutenant, Henry Timberlake, visited Cherokee towns and persuaded three powerful chieftains to accompany him to England. They were presented to King George III, and at court exhibited a dignity and bearing in keeping with their rank as representatives of a great Nation.

During the Revolutionary War the Cherokees were powerful allies of the British until they were utterly defeated. They entered into formal treaty with the United States in 1781.

To this interesting Nation the Moravian Brethren felt constrained to come as messengers of Christ, and this mission and those of other denominations which followed the Moravian pioneers are inseparably connected with and chiefly responsible for the rapid and remarkable rise of the Cherokees in enlightenment, civilization and prosperity. Their espousal of Christianity brought them out as the most highly-developed of all Indian nations.

A kind of first-fruits of the Cherokee harvest was a Cherokee who had been taken prisoner in one of the many Delaware-Cherokee wars and brought into the vicinity of the Moravian mission among the Delawares in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio. Noah had remained in this neighborhood after his release, became a convert and was baptized by Moravian missionaries on July 4, 1773, twenty-eight years before the Southern mission was undertaken.

The Salem deputies, after securing the official permission of the Council, examined several tentative sites for the location of a mission, of which Conference chose a plantation of 60 acres two miles east of the Connesauga River and 80 miles south of Tellico. This tract was purchased and named "Springplace" because of several fine limestone springs thereon. Springplace was 400 miles distant from Salem by way of Knoxville, and the site of the present Springplace is Murray County, Georgia.

On the night of April 12, 1801, an inspiring service was held in the Salem Church at which the first missionaries to the Cherokees, Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan, were solemnly set apart for this office. "And when they had prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."

On horseback, and with one packhorse, the two set out next morning "to prepare for the settlement of a mission by planting some ground with provision and providing an habitation." They reached Spring-

place April 20, and for several weeks remained on the neighboring plantation of a half-breed until the occupant at Springplace had removed.

Services were begun at once, held in a building on James Vann's farm and were attended by half-breed Cherokees, and white and colored persons.

The missionaries were busily occupied planting their fields and felling trees for their own dwelling. Three months after leaving Salem they could occupy their new cabin and at night, when they had lit their pine torches, they dedicated the place and themselves to the Lord.

For the first months the Brethren lived on corn bread, eggs, and coffee. Once, several Indians came to remain over night, and they shared with them what their larder afforded and it was only bread and water. They fared better when the garden yielded an abundance of vegetables.

Steiner was privileged to attend a Council at which a treaty between the United States and the Cherokees was to be concluded. Three hundred warriors had gathered for the proceedings. "Little Turkey," the head chief, did not come, and for this reason: the President of the United States did not come in person but sent deputies; therefore, "Little Turkey," principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, did not come in person but sent deputies! The commissioners laid before the chiefs the main business, namely, complaints of the neighboring states about the Indian trails, too narrow for trade and intercourse. The Government wished to make them wider. Chief "Doublehead," after all had smoked in silence for a season, arose and flatly declined the road proposition, saying, that evidently the narrow trails were wide enough for the white man to find the red man's land. Whereupon the meeting adjourned *sine die.*

A glimpse now of one of the many arduous journeys from Salem to Springplace. One of the missionaries was married in Salem, and with another missionary, the trip to Springplace was undertaken in a large, covered wagon. Friends from Salem accompanied them as far as Bethania, where a farewell service was held and the missionaries pushed on. They crossed the Little Yadkin, came over the Blue Ridge and the New River; next, the south and middle forks of the Holston River were negotiated and the party came to Knoxville and then to Tellico Blockhouse. Here the road for vehicles ended and the wagon was turned for home, the missionaries hiring a packhorse and an Indian guide for the rest of the journey. Spending the nights under the open sky they were drenched by heavy rains. Coming to the Hiwassee River they found that stream swollen. The guide put the lady across in a canoe and the

one missionary managed to get over on his horse, but when the other man attempted to follow on the packhorse, the girth tore and it was only after a desperate struggle that man and horse came to land. Coming, finally, to their station after these trials, they found that most of their household effects had been stolen and the place generally was in bad condition. Yet the diary records a praise service held that very night as it was held every night during the many years of the Springplace mission.

For the first years the outlook was dark and discouraging. The missionaries could not talk to the Indians except there chanced to be an interpreter. Moreover, the difficulties in the way of learning the language seemed insuperable. The chiefs were becoming suspicious because the promise of a school had not yet been carried out. Imagine the consternation of the missionaries when an ultimatum was sent them either to start the school without delay or to vacate Cherokee land by January first, 1804. Due to the intervention of the United States agent the threat was not carried out and the chiefs were prevailed upon to grant longer time. By Christmas, 1804, four scholars were at Springplace, two of them the sons of chiefs who had been most bitterly opposed to the mission.

Two new log houses were now erected at Springplace for dwelling and school purposes.

The year 1804 marked the beginning of a new effort among the Creeks. Col. Hawkins, the Government agent among them had spent much time in turning the Creeks from hunting, fishing, etc., to the simple manufactures, knowledge of weights and measures and the like, and he had been very successful. Consequently, when two Brethren came from Salem to the Creek country, they were cordially received by Col. Hawkins, who promised to do all in his power to assist a mission among his wards.

The Hawkins establishment was on the Flint River and being on the border of the Creek country missionaries could live here without obtaining permission from the Creeks.

The Brethren were advised to send missionaries who were artisans—carpenters, smiths, etc. — for the Creeks were very anxious to learn trades and therefore a missionary so trained could find easier entrance with the Gospel.

In 1807 two men were ready, between them representing the blacksmith, joiner and turner, gunsmith, and weaver trades. Among the Creeks their services were greatly in demand and they faithfully preached Christ where opportunity offered. Long evangelistic tours were made, for the situation at the agency did not reach many Indians.

Six years passed and the missionaries saw hopeful signs that their labor was not in vain. Then came the War of 1812, and the Creeks went on the war-path, rendering the position of the two Brethren on the Creek border extremely dangerous and finally untenable. They were recalled in 1813.

Meanwhile the light was dawning in the Cherokee Nation, its first beams arising, singularly enough, out of the school which the missionaries so much dreaded. With the coming of John Gambold and wife to the work came a new era for the Cherokees. In gifts and consecration, Gambold was eminently the man for the place and Mrs. Gambold was even more valuable. For twenty years she had been principal tutoress in the school for young ladies at Bethlehem, Pa., and her talents of the highest order and lovely disposition had endeared her to students all over the country. These two gave the balance of their lives to the Cherokees, both filling a grave in the Indian country after many years of highly successful service. Under the blessing of God the mission blossomed like a rose in the desert of heathenism. When at Christmas 1806, the Cherokee scholars sang:

> "Praise the Lord, for on us shineth
> Christ, the sun of righteousness," etc.

the missionaries felt amply repaid for all trials they had endured in the dark years that lay behind.

The work in the school was so satisfactory that Col. Meigs, the Cherokee agent, had no difficulty in securing an annual appropriation of $100 from the Government. More scholars were received and the curriculum was widened. Carefully the children were instructed, also, in the essentials of the Christian faith and this was beginning to tell on them and was influencing their parents.

On June 16, 1810, came the request of Margaret Vann, half-breed Cherokee, for baptism—the first fruits of this mission. She was baptized on August 13 in the large Springplace barn, set in order for the occasion, which was completely filled with reverent Cherokees. For many years, up to her death, Margaret remained a shining light in her nation. One man particularly moved at her baptism was Charles Hicks, scribe for the upper Cherokees and later principal chief of the nation. Baptized in 1813 he became, also, a principal man of God for his people.

Yes, the tide was turning. A few years ago there was stolid indifference; even hostility. Now, by a miracle of grace, a gracious influence from above, all hearts seemed open and the missionaries held the esteem of the whole nation.

The school felt the new impulse. Writing in acknowledgment of the annual appropriation to the Secretary of War, Gambold says:

> Since last I wrote you, our scholars have advanced in arithmetic as far as the rule of three (Theory of Proportion—E. S.); made further progress in reading, grammar, and writing; learned by heart a little of sacred history, and likewise the first rudiments of geography. They are willing children, whom we love sincerely, and would gladly sacrifice our days in their service.

A striking testimony to the character of the work done at Springplace is given in the words of a Catholic Abbé, on a tour of the United States, who abode at Springplace for a day and night:

> Judge of my surprise, in the midst of the wilderness, to find a botanic garden containing many exotic and medicinal plants; the professor, Mrs. Gambold, describing them by their Linnean names. Your missionaries have taught me more of the nature of the manner of promulgating civilization and religion in the early ages by the missionaries from Rome than all the ponderous volumes which I have read on the subject. I there saw the sons of a Cherokee Regulus learning their lesson and reading their New Testament in the morning, and drawing and painting in the afternoon, though, to be sure, in a very Cherokee style, and assisting Mrs. Gambold in her household work or Mr. Gambold in planting corn.

So successful was the school that in 1818 five of the scholars could be sent for higher education to a seminary in Cornwall, Conn., conducted by the A. B. C. F. M.* for the heathen youth of all races. The day of their departure was a high day. Mr. Gambold gave the boys $10.00 out of his own meagre pocket; fitted two boys with his own shirts, and another with vest and trousers. A gentleman going North had the boys in charge, and they enjoyed quite a triumphal procession and were shown marked kindness everywhere and especially in Salem. At Washington, all visited ex-President Jefferson, dined with ex-President Madison and were introduced to President Monroe.

Arrived at the school, the five gave evidence of such excellent training that the Prudential Committee promptly voted $200 for the Springplace school. One of the boys was adopted by Dr. Elias Boudinot, philanthropist, statesman, and author. All of them eventually filled careers of great usefulness; two as native helpers in the Gospel among their countrymen.

Encouragement came to Springplace from another source. The same chiefs who, a few years ago, had signed the letter threatening eviction of the missionaries now sent another letter telling them to enlarge their fields at pleasure and that they dwelt in perfect safety in the land.

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* American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Congregational.

The influence of Chief Charles Hicks was having a telling effect on his countrymen. From forty, fifty, and sixty miles around they came to the meetings. This good work continued until, in the 1819, there was a signal outpouring of God's Spirit upon the whole Cherokee tribe. Many came to the missionaries with the Philippian jailer's question, "What must I do to be saved?" and men, women and children were added to the Lord.

Wrote Col. Meigs, U. S. agent: "You have succeeded as far as you and your Society could possibly expect. The persons you name as new members of your church are amongst the first characters in the Nation for understanding and respectability."

A large and commodious church was erected at Springplace in 1819.

Of missionary establishments among the Cherokees there were, in 1819, four, of which the Moravian at Springplace was oldest, established in 1801; Congregational, at Brainerd, Tenn., established 1816; Presbyterian, at Tallony, 30 miles east of Springplace, begun 1819; Baptist, in the valleys of southern North Carolina, organized 1819.

The Moravians opened a second station, 1820, at Oochgelogy, 30 miles south of Springplace, in what is now Gordon County, Georgia. A missionary couple came to this station where a large two-story house was erected with second floor arranged for church and school purposes. School was begun and gradually a congregation was gathered, and this station, too, grew in numbers and influence under the smile of God.

October, 1820, and February, 1821, brought an experience of quite another sort to the little congregation at Springplace. Margaret Vann, first convert, consistent Christian, accurate interpreter and real evangelist, lay dying. After bidding her beloved missionaries an affectionate "Good Night," after the manner of the early Christians, she "fell on sleep," and the first of the Cherokee flock that was found of Christ was the first, likewise, to see Him "face to face." A dark cloud often is followed by another. Margaret's spiritual mother, Mrs. Anna Gambold, the light and life of the Cherokee mission, kept alive for the past year only by her indomitable will and the love for the Cherokees, to whom she had poured the past sixteen years of her rich life, was called to her eternal reward the following spring and was tenderly bedded beside her Cherokee sister in the little Springplace graveyard, amid the sobs of her little Indian boy scholars who would not be consoled.

The wonderful spiritual awakening among the tribe has been noted. Just at this psychological time "Sik-wa-yi," a remarkable Cherokee who never learned to read, write or speak the English language, came forward with a stone upon which he had scratched a Cherokee alphabet of 86 characters, each representing a syllable. Visiting in a neighboring

village, he had observed that white men had a method of conveying their thoughts on paper and conceived the idea of inventing characters intelligible to his people. He submitted his alphabet to a public test of the chiefs who placed Sikwayi and his son at some distance from each other, dictated sentences to them, and, having exchanged them by trusty messengers, had each read the writing of the other.

Within five years of the acceptance of Sikwayi's invention three presses in the Cherokee forests had turned off 800,000 pages of good literature. The whole Nation became an academy for learning the alphabet and reading good books. Everywhere one could see Cherokees instructing one another in the art of reading and writing. Portions of the Scriptures appeared and, at length, the whole Bible in Cherokee was ready, the scholarly work of Dr. S. A. Worcester, Presbyterian missionary among the Cherokees. The Moravian liturgy and hymns were printed. (Copies of these Cherokee editions are preserved in the Salem archives.) Appeared a national paper, also, *The Cherokee Phoenix,* edited by one of the five former Moravian scholars whom we have followed from Springplace to the Cornwall Seminary. In fine, the Cherokees became a literary Nation and advanced in civilization and in the Christian religion by leaps and bounds.

Into this glorious sunshine of material, mental and spiritual progress came the ominous shadows of gathering clouds followed by the storm of the expatriation of the Cherokee Nation.

In 1802 a convention was entered into between the United States and Georgia which resulted in an agreement by which that State ceded to the United States all its territory west of the Chattahoochee River—out of which Alabama and Mississippi were formed—the United States promising to pay $1,250,000 and to extinguish the claims of Indians within the new boundaries of Georgia. The Cherokees clung tenaciously to the idea of tribal autonomy, as did the other civilized tribes, and Georgia began to insist more and more strongly that the Federal Government carry out its agreement. A new home for the red man had become necessary, hence "Indian Territory," that great reservation west of the Mississippi, carved out of the immense "Louisiana Purchase" of the year 1803.

With carefully coördinated plans between Federal and Georgia governments the removal to the western lands could have been accomplished with a minimum of suffering for the Indians. The facts of the case are that it was not so carried out. State and Government authorities seemed hopelessly at variance, and the Cherokees were caught between the upper and nether millstones.

The Cherokees themselves were divided on the issue, and there were two factions: the "Ross Party," opposed to treaty and removal, and the "Ridge Party," favoring a treaty on the best terms obtainable, perceiving the futility of further opposition. The Senate in May, 1836, ratified a treaty with representatives of the latter, and this led to bitter feud between the parties.

In consequence, one of the saddest stories in American history is that of the removal of the Cherokees from their Eastern homes. Between sixteen and seventeen thousand men, women and children left Brainerd in the fall of 1838 with a winter's journey before them. Rigors of the weather and ravages of disease attacked the exiles with dreadful fatality and soon the great caravan became a monstrous funeral procession. The time of travel increased to ten months, and at the end of the journey one-fourth of the company had found graves by the wayside.

When these storm clouds broke over the Cherokees their fury struck the mission stations also. Missionaries were arrested, but later released. The Cherokee lands having been previously distributed by lots, Oochgelogy was seized, and on January 1, 1833, claimants presented themselves for Springplace. The missionaries sought refuge across the Tennessee line. The intruders had brought with them plenty of whiskey, and when night came Springplace, where for many years each night had resounded the Indian children's sweet song of praise and the voices of united prayer, echoed with the discordant sounds of drunkenness and revelry.

For several years the Moravian mission was maintained in Tennessee. At the last solemn Communion service before the Moravian Cherokees took their staff in hand, the missionaries announced that the Society in Salem had resolved to reëstablish the mission in the new territory.

Accordingly in September, 1838, three Brethren set out in a sturdy covered wagon "Westward Ho!" They were forty-one days on the journey of over 800 miles.

The large reservation for the Cherokees lay in the northeast corner of the Territory and covered about 3,800 square miles. Here the tribe was settled, and gradually the breaches between opposing parties were healed. Then followed for the Nation years of wonderful prosperity and advancement—political, educational, and spiritual.

Of the Moravian mission in the new land only an outline can be given in the limited time of this paper. Four main stations and over a score of preaching places were established. Schools were maintained with splendid results until the Cherokee free schools and national seminaries to a large degree superceded the denominational school. There were repeated, spiritual revivals of religion and hundreds of Cherokees

entered the Moravian household of faith. Moravian methods were slow but thorough. The long years of the maintenance of the mission show scarcely any lapses into heathenism, and Moravian converts were conspicuous in positions of responsibility—schools, business enterprises, and offices of government.

Other denominations prospered greatly. The Cherokees had embraced Christianity and were experiencing that "Godliness is profitable unto all things," good houses, good churches, good schools, law and order, material prosperity, spiritual blessing, and life eternal.

The heroic sacrifices entailed upon the southern Moravian Church and upon missionaries make the story of the work in the Territory a romance in the annals of God's Kingdom. Time fails to tell of the death of two young wives of missionaries, far from home and kindred, within the space of a few days, the husband of one making the caskets for both handmaidens of the Lord while blinding tears hindered his work. Diaries of the thousand-mile horse-and-carriage journeys repeatedly undertaken by missionaries and members of the Mission Board from Salem to Indian Territory are fascinating chapters of the narrative. On one such journey of visitation an aged Bishop of the church ventured with presentiment that he would never return alive. He died in Stone County, Mo., on the return journey and was buried by his faithful companion and sympathetic strangers. Later his body was brought to Salem. Within a few days of the Bishop's death one of the missionaries died and the widow and little fatherless children made the sad, thousand-mile journey homeward.

Came the convulsion of the Civil War which brought again a divided Cherokee Nation. One missionary was arrested and imprisoned for several months; another was murdered by a party of Cherokees and his body, mutilated by hogs, was found by the half-grown son of the arrested missionary. He and his mother dug a shallow grave. Within a few weeks the widow had succumbed to the shock. One of the stations was set on fire by hostile Cherokees and completely destroyed. The whole mission was disrupted for the remainder of the strife.

Rehabilitated after the war, the mission continued for three decades, though carried on with increasing cost and difficulties, owing to the great distance from the home base of the church. One fatal defect of the Moravian mission lay in the failure to train the Cherokees to contribute to the work and to feel responsibility for their mission. Under these conditions the work depended for its life upon contributions from the Salem Church and the products of two 160-acre farms upon which the principal stations were located. Under the Curtis Act, a comprehensive legislative provision of Congress, finally ratified by the Chero-

kees in 1899, Federal jurisdiction was extended over the entire Territory, lands were allotted in severalty and the Indians became citizens of the United States. By the provisions of this law, churches were allowed but four acres each and the Moravian Board deemed it impossible to continue the work on this basis. Hence the venerable mission among Creeks and Cherokees, extending over 164 years, came to an end in 1899, work among Indians in Canada and Southern California in a measure compensating for its loss.

After a few years the Danish Lutheran Church entered the sphere of Moravian labors in the Territory. There are Moravian Cherokees still living, now under the care of this church.

Had there been in the latter days spirits of the calibre of Chief Charles Hicks, of the old Springplace, Georgia, mission, there would be flourishing churches today in the Territory.

The influence of the Moravian pioneer mission in the civilization and uplift of an entire Indian tribe is beyond estimation. The results of the mission are conserved in our Father's House. Its hundreds of Cherokee converts are at home with God, together with their missionaries who loved not their own lives unto death to bring to them the Gospel.

Other denominations have nobly carried on the work and share its triumph.

And in the Cherokee harvest the Lord "shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied."

Concerning a History of North Carolina Administrative Departments

By C. C. Pearson
Wake Forest College

There is no history of any North Carolina State executive or administrative department, board or commission. This lack, however, is the rule in other States also; and it is only recently that departments of the Federal Government have received serious historical attention. Nor does the statement refer to special studies only. Our general histories, State and National, devote little attention to ordinary administration save when it has been extraordinarily bad. Yet consider the magnitude and importance of this work. The North Carolina Blue Book of 1918 lists twenty-eight separate State departments or boards or commissions, and if we add the boards of educational and charitable institutions (as we should do) the total was sixty-one. Save for the small sums that go to members of the Legislature and the courts it is these that spend the tax money. One of them is now in process of spending a minimum of fifty millions in a great construction program. Another claims to be saving ordinary citizens one and a half millions a year in "cost values" and many millions more in "vital values." We have it on eminent authority that another has more power than Julius Cæsar ever had—power over property, revenue and politics. Certainly in the course of their normal activities they reach into every factory, school and home with hands that help or hinder in no uncertain way. To these considerations let us add that some of them are very old, tracing their lineage in unbroken descent from colonial days, with a wealth of family records and traditions and perhaps, like our State Department, with offspring of no mean importance. These facts, I think, justify the inquiry: Ought we not (1) secure special historical studies of our administrative agencies and (2) incorporate their findings in our general histories? And if the undertaking is desirable, should not this Society lend encouragement and assistance?

Let us approach our first inquiry by considering the character of the suggested special studies. They should be monographs, I am sure. Each will show, of course, the origin of the institution treated: was it in imitation of some other State or intended to satisfy some new want of society? If the latter, was it political or economic and social in nature? Was it a want of all the people or of some class or group? How was sentiment in its favor developed, how crystallized and forced upon the

attention of the Legislature? Perhaps there was an organized "movement" in favor of the idea and an organized opposition; these must be analyzed and described. The study will show the powers of the institution and the machinery for giving them effect, carefully discriminating between real and nominal powers and clearly showing what could be done and how. If clumsiness or crookedness of law-making rendered the attempt abortive, this fact will be recorded. Since needs change, powers and machinery change; hence both must be traced in their development. Above all, the study must show how the office functioned, and in so doing it will take us away from the central office down to the county and the township and the individual—will show how much the individual was controlled, how much served, and how much taxed for each specific service. And lastly, it will describe the men who organized and ran the institution, our civil servants or masters.

Now what specific needs would such special studies meet? The question must be answered, for in these days one may not encourage lightly a new series of monographs. The data supplied would certainly be very useful to our public men, our teachers and our general historians. Our public men usually approach an institutional topic from the historical viewpoint; consider, for example, the almost invariable compilations which precede a constitutional convention—in States where such assemblages are still permitted! And how can an administrator check his work and his ideas save by others' records? You say, he himself can look up the matter in laws, messages and reports. Can he? Only, I think, if he possesses the qualities of both administrator and historian, and the time of both. And consider the student of "Government." He, too, must approach matters historically. Where can he get his facts? Yet there are many of this tribe, their number is growing, and they are going to play a conspicuous part in affairs of state. What a boon it would be to have, for example, data that illustrates how the public makes up its mind and how laws and officers are helpless before this public opinion! And how could we obtain such abundant and concrete testimony as from an auditor who naively admitted the failure of a new tax law in the face of general opposition to paying the tax in the nineties or from prohibition officers who might allege the same in our own times?

There remains to be stated the chief service which such studies would render. They would provide, I think, materials for the writers of our general histories and perhaps (let us say it to provoke discussion) suggest new points of view. The capacity of our recent historians requires us to assume that they have been waiting for such careful preliminary work. For their stories are not rounded out and the lessons which these

stories should teach are sometimes lacking. For example, among our favorite topics are movements, elections, personages, economic and social progress, and political theory. Now is the story of, say, a farmers' movement complete until we know whether the department and the commission to which it led actually obtained for farmers the results which they sought? Elections, indeed, are often but games between rival factions; but is the story of the game more important than the checking of the candidate's promises against his post-election performance? And is it not time that we give to the man who year by year keeps the machinery of government going the same fullness of honorable mention that we accord to him who acted well in an emergency? Taxation statistics are dull and hard to remember; but how they could be made to illuminate the historian's paragraphs on social morality! And how could a better commentary on our changing theory of the State be written than by a simple narrative of the departments' expanding services in everyday affairs? We began with a theory of political democracy, and we have given it a wonderful practical application. We began also with a theory of *laissez faire,* but we have 'bout-faced toward State socialism. This change is profoundly important. Our people must be taught by their historians why it came about and how it came about and how it affects their individual lives. And I for one believe that historians must show likewise why we have had to change so largely from a government by laws to government by commissions, and how improper organization of our administrative agencies has cost and is costing us heavily in dollars and in service.

To this argument it may be replied that State administrative agencies have but recently become of first rate importance. I answer, So much the better. If we hurry we can make our history take the dominant note of our times. That note is social. If we do not, how can we expect to influence our generation?

I shall have to admit that the task will be difficult and lacking in romantic interest. The bulkiness of our recent records, especially our newspaper records, is discouraging and their omissions alarming. Omissions we may supply, if we hurry, from the recollections of pioneer participants. The wisdom of the Society will, I think, readily suggest methods for stimulating interest and perhaps for diminishing the labor of the task.

The Use of Books and Libraries in North Carolina

By Louis R. Wilson
Librarian of the University of North Carolina

Speaking in Greensboro before the graduating class of the State Normal and Industrial School in June, 1897, the late Walter Hines Page, in the course of an address entitled "The Forgotten Man," said:

> There are no great libraries in the State, nor do the people yet read, nor have the publishing houses yet reckoned them as patrons, except the publishers of school books.

That was a quarter of a century ago, just when the first public library in North Carolina was being established in Durham, and three years before the State Literary and Historical Association proposed the establishment of what have come to be known as the thirty-dollar school libraries.

Since 1897 the situation, which Mr. Page so correctly described, has vastly improved. But the improvement has fallen so far short of what it is desirable it should be that recent investigations made by Mr. Ben Dixon McNeill and Miss Nell Battle Lewis, of the *News and Observer,* and by the editors of the University *News Letter,* prove conclusively that what Mr. Page said in the late 1890's is relatively true in the early 1920's. Today North Carolin has no truly great library running up into the hundreds of thousands of volumes, North Carolinians by and large are not yet a reading people, and the publishing houses, other than those that publish school texts or high priced but little used subscription sets sold by agents, have not reckoned North Carolinians as their patrons, despite the fact that the State stands fifth in the total value of its agricultural products, ninth or tenth in the amount of Federal income taxes it pays, and is building roads at the rate of $50,000,000 biennially.

Mr. Page offered no statistics in support of his statement. In the discussion which follows statistics are offered not so much for the purpose of supporting the statement as for showing just what the situation is in the State in order that proper measures may be devised to change the situation for the better.

Public Libraries

According to the statistics appearing in the June, 1922, issue of *The North Carolina Library Bulletin,* only 35 of the 62 towns in the State having populations of from 2,000 to 48,000 possessed public libraries,

and the total number of public and semi-public libraries for 100 counties and a total population of approximately 2,600,000 was 64 for white people and three for negroes. These 67 libraries contained a total of 213,408 volumes (or one book to every 12 men, women and children), a number which causes the State to rank 47th among the sisterhood of States, and which exceeds the number of automobiles and motor vehicles housed in garages in the State by only 64,981. Furthermore, 30 of these 64 libraries reported incomes for all purposes ranging from $16.95 to $950.17, and the 64 plus the 3 colored libraries reported a total income of only $83,031, or 3¼ cents per man, woman, and child for all North Carolina. Winston, with a population of 48,395, led with $8,861, a per capita expenditure of 18 cents, whereas the standard recommended by the American Library Association is $1, or five times as much. Charlotte, Raleigh, and Greensboro had library incomes slightly above $8,000, while Asheville and Durham received $7,445 and $6,757 respectively.

Similarly, statistics concerning the addition of new volumes, the number of borrowers in the State, and the total circulation, show that although there were only 191,246 volumes on the shelves at the beginning of the year, only 22,162 new volumes—less than one to every 100 inhabitants—were added during the year, that only 85,882 inhabitants—one in every thirty—were registered as borrowers, and the total circulation of the 213,408 volumes among the 85,882, not the 2,600,000, was 727,905. Asheville, with a book collection of 10,949 and a population of 28,504, circulated 99,218 volumes, the largest total for any North Carolina city, which, when measured by the standard American library turnover of five per capita, should have been 142,520, or 42 per cent greater than it actually was. In addition to these loans, the North Carolina Library Commission circulated 616 traveling libraries of 40 volumes each in 414 stations in 98 counties, and loaned a total of 15,659 titles through its package library service. But with all this done, the circulation of public library books involved not more than 100,000 families or 500,000 men, women, and children, leaving the remaining 2,100,000 inhabitants without public library service.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE LIBRARIES

The school population of North Carolina today is approximately 900,000. Of this number 850,000 are pupils in the common schools, 40,000 are pupils in high schools, and 10,000 are college students.

Prior to March, 1901, the common schools had, practically speaking, no books. By legislative enactment in 1901 provision was made for the establishment of $30 original libraries containing an average of 85

volumes, and later $15 supplementary libraries containing 35 volumes. On November 30, 1920, there were 4960 of the original libraries, containing a total of approximately 421,600 volumes and costing $148,800, and 2,331 of the supplementary libraries, containing 81,565 volumes and costing $34,965. One half of the common schools of the State had no libraries at all. That is, in the twenty years from 1901 to 1920, $183,768 was spent to acquire 503,165 books for one-half of the school children of the State to read. To date, the other half have gone bookless, except as they have drawn upon funds other than those appropriated by the State and counties.

In addition to the fact that no provision has been made for one-half of the schools, it is also true that failure to provide the most careful sort of oversight has resulted in many instances in only their partial use. Questionnaires covering the white schools of Orange, Guilford, and Wayne counties for 1921-22 show the following situation:

Orange County.—Of 48 white schools in Orange, including the graded schools of Chapel Hill and Hillsboro, seven have no libraries whatever, and the 1,586 pupils enrolled have access to a total of 3,692 volumes, or slightly more than two books per pupil. Eighteen of the 41 libraries are open only during the session. In answer to the direct question, How much are the books used during term time? ten out of the 25 teachers answering responded, Not very much! One high school spent $150 for new books. Three other schools spent $10, $20, and $5 respectively for new books. The other 44 spent nothing. Four schools subscribed for a total of 23 newspapers and magazines, the other 44 for none. Practically every teacher reported the presence of some books in the homes of the pupils, but one concluded the questionnaire with the comment that the patrons seemed to take scarcely any interest in schools, books, or newspapers.

Guilford County.—In Guilford County 70 schools reported 7,333 pupils enrolled. The city schools of Greensboro, which own from 10,000 to 12,000 volumes, and which are spending $2,000 for books and $250 for periodicals this year, were not included. Forty-six of the schools taught only the first seven grades; 24 taught from one to four grades of high school subjects. Sixty-two of the 70 had libraries with a total of 8,975 volumes. Only 25 of the libraries were open in the summer, 29 reported a monthly total circulation of 1,165 or 40 volumes per school, and only $743.15, or ten cents per pupil, was spent for new books during the year. Twenty schools possessed an encyclopedia, 27 an unabridged dictionary, and 15 subscribed for newspapers and magazines. The others lacked these indispensable aids to first-class school work. Teachers indicated the presence of books and papers in the majority of homes,

and a number of schools reported the use of library material from the public library at Greensboro which maintains a county service.

Wayne County.—Forty-eight schools outside of Goldsboro in Wayne County reported 3,331 pupils enrolled. Forty-five possessed libraries totaling 4,041 volumes, and 24 were open in the summer. Fourteen schools reported a total monthly circulation of 254 volumes or an average of 18 per school per month. Nineteen schools reported efforts to improve their libraries, a total of $195.10 having been raised for this purpose. Nine schools owned an encyclopedia, 26 an unabridged dictionary, and 13 subscribed for periodicals. Forty of the teachers reported the presence of papers and magazines in the homes of the pupils, and 37 the presence of books.

HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Figures for high school libraries in North Carolina are practically non-existent. No special fund other than that for the $30 and $15 libraries has been appropriated by the State and counties for the purchase of books for high school libraries, and as a result no record has been kept by the State Department of Education. Schools here and there have secured funds for books in various ways, but, except in the case of a few of the larger city high schools, no permanent policy has been provided for their steady adequate upbuilding. Only in 1921 was the possession of a library of 300 volumes by junior high schools and 500 volumes by senior high schools set by the State Educational Department as a prerequisite to being placed in the class of accredited schools, and an adequate list prepared by the State High School Inspector from which the books could be selected.

Book Collections Small.—How deplorable the situation has been was indicated by the answers to a questionnaire concerning high school facilities submitted to 100 Freshmen in the University in 1921-22. Of the 100 Freshmen, 96 replied that they had the use of some form of library in high school. Four had not. Seventy-six reported the presence of reference books in the school library. Eighty-five had access to an encyclopedia or unabridged dictionary, fifty-eight to an atlas, and thirty-nine, through their connection with the High School Debating Union, had used package library material from the University Library and twenty-six from the North Carolina Library Commission. Only 33 had had access to a public library, had learned how to use a dictionary-card catalogue, and were able on the first day of their college career, to use the tools which a great college library places at the disposal of its students. To the other 67 the card catalogue, the periodical

indexes, the bibliographical works, the whole library, in fact, around which their college work should revolve, was an unknown quantity. These 67 presented the necessary 15 units in English, history, science, and language. But the fundamental unit, the unit of knowing how to use a well-equipped modern library, they, and their less fortunate high school classmates who stayed at home and whose future self-education is almost entirely dependent upon the use of what Carlyle called the peoples' university—the public library—they failed to acquire.

College Libraries

College libraries, seemingly, have fared better than any other class in the State. From the report appearing in *The North Carolina Library Bulletin* for June, 1922, there were 416,353 volumes in the libraries of 26 North Carolina colleges, the State Library, and the Library of the Supreme Court, and 27,960 were in the libraries of six colored institutions. The grand total was 444,313 volumes, the largest single collection being that of the University, which numbered 108,405 volumes. These same institutions added a total of 25,479 new books during the year and regularly received 2,807 newspapers and periodicals of a permanent nature. No statistics of income and expenditure were given. Six of the institutions added less than 100 volumes during the year. The actual figures were from 16 to 62. Five added between 101 and 200 volumes, nine between 201 and 500, four between 501 and 1,000, six between 1,001 and 2,000, one between 2,001 and 8,000 and one over 8,000. The grand total including State Library and Supreme Court, was only 25,479, a total less by 505 than the 25,984 added to the library of the University of California alone. The Library of the University of Michigan came within 26 of the total, Yale doubled it, and Harvard, with 73,100 volumes, practically trebled it!

Total Collections Small.—Not only are the annual additions small, but the collections to which they are added are far too limited. To add 16 volumes to a collection, which at the end of the year totals only 2,014, is quite different from adding 2,047 to a collection, which at the end of the year totals 59,000, or 25,453, in the case of Michigan, to an exclusive total of 457,847.

As compared with the libraries of colleges and universities in the North and West, the libraries of these North Carolina institutions are fearfully outdistanced. Wesleyan University, the Methodist College of Connecticut, had 125,100 volumes in 1921. Haverford College, the Friends' college, of Pennsylvania, had 80,000; the State Normal College of Michigan had 45,000; the State Agricultural College of Iowa had

80,000; Wellesley and Smith, two colleges for women in Massachusetts, had 100,000 and 78,600 respectively, and the collections at Johns Hopkins and Princeton, not to mention the really big collections of Columbia and Yale and Harvard, ran well up beyond the quarter-of-a-million mark.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Since Mr. Page made his address in Greensboro, newspapers and magazines have sprung up on every hand. Daily rural free delivery has penetrated every quarter and, seemingly, the State has made a tremendous advance in its reading of these two types of literature. But when a study of the circulations of these types of publication is made, it becomes evident that North Carolina ranks approximately 44th or 45th from the top among the 48 states in its reading of material of this sort. According to *The Editor and Publisher* for June 10, 1922, North Carolina's 9 morning and 27 afternoon dailies were circulating 188,781 copies, or one copy to every 13.5 inhabitants. Massachusetts led the country with a circulation of one copy to every 1.9 inhabitants. The average for the United States was one copy to every 3.6 persons. North Carolina ranked 45th from the top, or 4th from the bottom, with South Carolina, New Mexico, and Mississippi below. The mailing lists of the *Greensboro Daily News, News and Observer, Charlotte Observer, North Carolina Christian Advocate, Biblical Recorder, Charity and Children, Orphan's Friend,* and University *News Letter,* run from 17,500 to 30,000 and, if read by an average of 5 persons, reach from 87,500 to 150,000 people, while *The Progressive Farmer* and *The North Carolina Health Bulletin,* with 50,000 circulation, reach approximately 250,000 people, or one in every 10 in the State.

Unpleasant Facts.—Statistics published in 1921 by the circulation and advertising departments of *The Ladies' Home Journal, The Literary Digest,* and *The Saturday Evening Post*—three of the most popular and widely disseminated journals of the country—show that North Carolina ranks low in her reading of these publications.

One North Carolinian out of every 138 received a copy of *The Literary Digest* in 1921, while the average for the United States was one in every 85. Only one person in 149 in North Carolina received a copy of *The Saturday Evening Post,* against an average of one in every 50 throughout the rest of the country. North Carolina postmasters and news agencies delivered one copy of *The Ladies' Home Journal* to one person in 116, whereas their colleagues throughout the country did practically twice as big business. Stated differently in the terms of rank among the forty-eight states, Oregon, which is a much younger State

than North Carolina, and has its Japanese problem, ranks first in the circulation of *The Ladies' Home Journal* with one copy to every 33 inhabitants, North Carolina ranks 40th, with one copy to every 117, and Mississippi stands at the bottom with one copy to every 181 of her citizens. In the case of *The Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post,* North Carolina ranks 42d and 46th respectively, while 73-year-old California leads in both instances with one copy to every 41 and 22 inhabitants respectively.

Among Ourselves.—Coming closer home than California, North Carolina makes a poor showing among her immediate neighbors. In the case of *The Ladies' Home Journal* (the State makes its best showing in its reading of this publication, thanks to the women, rather than in *The Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post*) North Carolina ranks 40th. Florida (assisted by her tourists, possibly) ranks 25th; Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Texas also stand ahead of her. Tennessee equals her, and Kentucky, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Mississippi stand below her.

In the case of *The Literary Digest* Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Mississippi fall below her, whereas in the case of *The Saturday Evening Post* all outrank her except Mississippi and South Carolina.

County Quotas.—Coming still closer home, the analyses of circulations furnished by these three journals together with *The Progressive Farmer* make clear the further fact that not all North Carolina counties read equally. The national advertiser who runs a page advertisement in *The Literary Digest,* for example, does not have the same number per capita of readers in all of the 100 counties. Only 3 copies of this publication were received by or sold to residents of Graham county during the week in April, 1921, when the audit was made. But even with that the average of one copy to every 1,624 inhabitants was higher than that of Alleghany with 4 copies distributed over a total population of 7,403, or one copy to every 1,850 inhabitants! Buncombe, on the other hand, with its 64,148 inhabitants, received 1,454 copies, or one copy to every 44 inhabitants, and thereby led the State, while Mecklenburg, New Hanover, Pasquotank, and Wake followed in close order with 65, 67, 70, and 73 respectively.

Among the Farmers.—An analysis of the circulation of the *Progressive Farmer* shows the same thing, with the difference that the leadership passes from Buncombe to Randolph. Randolph, with a total mailing list of 978 (at the time the audit was made), led with one copy to every 31 inhabitants. Buncombe dropped to 88th position with one copy

to every 117 inhabitants, and Alleghany, moved up six places from the bottom to 94th, with one copy to every 160 of her citizens, yielding the lowest position to Dare with a total of twelve copies to a population of 5,115, or one paper to every 426.

Combined Circulation.—Analyses of the circulations of single papers, however, do not give an adequate picture of what North Carolina counties read. Consequently, the combined circulations of *The Literary Digest, The Ladies' Home Journal, The Saturday Evening Post* and *The Progressive Farmer* give a cross-section picture of North Carolina reading never given before, and one which should receive the careful study of every one interested in the economic as well as the social and cultural development of the State.

Buncombe, with a total of 5,000 copies of the four papers combined, leads with the highest per capita circulation of one copy to every 13 inhabitants. Mecklenburg has the greatest total, 5,310, but ranks 3d, being outdistanced by New Hanover with a total of 2,967, or one paper to every 15 people. Forsyth, in spite of the fact that it contains the largest city in the State, is outranked by 16 counties.

At the other end of the table Alleghany, Ashe, and Graham fill the 98th, 99th, and 100th positions, the 1,472 inhabitants of Graham receiving 1 copy of *The Ladies' Home Journal,* 2 copies of *The Saturday Evening Post,* 3 copies of *The Literary Digest,* and 20 of *The Progressive Farmer*—26 copies all told, or one to every 187 inhabitants.

From even a most superficial study of this picture, two facts are distinctly clear. North Carolina is not reading her quota of the standard journals of the country; and the counties which do not contain large cities, with highly organized public libraries, bookstores, and news-stands, read far less than those that have these facilities.

Two other observations might be made. North Carolina country areas are largely unaware of what the rest of the world is thinking about, so far as it is reflected in the magazines of the day; and the high average for Buncombe and Moore counties (in which the principal tourists resorts of North Carolina are located) may be due to the visitors rather than home-stayers!

BOOKSTORES AND NEWS-STANDS

Data concerning the sales of bookstores and news-stands is extremely meagre. A canvass of representative stores in Asheville, Charlotte, Winston, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Wilmington, for example, showed total sales as follows of four books which were widely read throughout the rest of the country; *Main Street,* 1,180; *Outline of*

History, 239; *Economic Consequences of Peace,* 3; *If Winter Comes,* 784. Requests made upon bookstores for information concerning sales of books published by local authors were answered negatively, with the result that data had to be obtained direct from the authors, the chief purport of which was that books like Hamilton's *Reconstruction,* Brooks' *North Carolina Poems,* Avery's *Idle Comments,* McNiell's *Songs Merry and Sad,* Poe's *Where Half the World is Waking Up,* and Connor and Poe's *Life and Addresses of C. B. Aycock,* were sold in numbers ranging from 250 to 5,000, the latter being just one half of the number of copies of Wheeler's *History of North Carolina* sold in the early 1850's.

News-stands and cigar stands sell thousands of magazines such as *The Red Book, The Cosmopolitan,* and *The American Magazine. The Independent, The World's Work, Scribner's, The Outlook, The Atlantic Monthly,* and other magazines of a more serious type are rarely offered for sale at all. But even with the assistance of the news-stands, the total sales and subscriptions of *The Red Book,* for example, is one copy to 408 inhabitants, while the average for the United States is one copy to 147, and on the same basis the total sales in North Carolina showed that the State average for a dozen magazines of the most popular character was less than half of the average of the country at large.

Books for Negroes

Little comment has ever been made upon the use of books in the State by negroes. Until Professor W. C. Jackson, of the North Carolina College for Women, recently began an investigation of this subject, little data was available. From 35 answers to a questionnaire sent to the public libraries of the State, and from statistics published in *The Library Bulletin* for June, he discovered that the 750,000 or more negroes in North Carolina have a total of only five public libraries and 24 county training school and college libraries. Information from the State Department of Education and from a number of county superintendents also indicates the presence of an occasional $30 library in the rural schools for negroes. In the absence of anything approximating complete information, it appears, therefore, that the public library book resources of this one-third of North Carolina's population are approximately 15,000 volumes, and that the private book resources of some 12 colleges and 12 county training schools for negroes are approximately 30,000 volumes—a fact which inevitably must have a profound influence upon the State's ability to attain its fullest development.

MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE

So much for the negative side of the picture. There is a positive side, and it is distinctly interesting. While there were no tax-supported, free public libraries when Mr. Page made his address, there are 67 today, with a total of over 200,000 volumes. There were no school libraries in 1897. Today 500,000 volumes are in the keeping of rural schools and a beginning has been made in the careful upbuilding of high school libraries. In 1901 the circulation of all newspapers in North Carolina totaled 612,230. In 1922, it totaled 1,420,982, an increase of 131 per cent. In 1902 the Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, with a library extension department; in 1904 the North Carolina Library Association began operation, and in 1909 the State established the Library Commission to operate traveling and package libraries, and to promote every form of library activity. 1912 saw the organization of the High School Debating Union which has involved from 10,000 to 20,000 high school boys and girls in the careful use of library materials, and today over 440,000 volumes are available for the use of the students enrolled in North Carolina colleges. In three instances a limited type of county-wide library service has been provided, and a method has been demonstrated by which adequate library service can be provided for the entire citizenship of North Carolina.

WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

At the beginning of this paper it was made clear that the purpose of the study was not merely to get at the facts, but rather to discover the causes which produced the situation and effective means for changing it for the better.

Of the causes, quite a few have been presented in the rather general discussion which has recently been carried on in the State press. Miss Elizabeth Kelly, whose work has been that of eradicating adult illiteracy, attributes a part of the lack of interest in books to inability to read. Miss Mary DeVane thinks that North Carolinians, until recently, have not had sufficient leisure from the task of making a living to devote to reading. Mr. R. B. House contends that North Carolinians are too good talkers to read. Miss Nell Battle Lewis finds the lack of an aristocracy to be the chief contributing cause. And still another says that no one can ever become a real lover and therefore reader of books who did not become one through reading as a child.

To these causes, all of which have undoubtedly contributed to the production of the situation, I wish to add four others: (1) North

Carolina is a sparsely settled agricultural State, whose life until recently has been simple rather than complex; (2) books have been thought of largely in the terms of culture and not as tools or means of promoting individual welfare; (3) publicity concerning books and libraries has been extremely limited; and (4) those whose duty it has been to teach others the use of books have not been trained in their use themselves.

Until the boll weevil complicated the growing of cotton, that agricultural activity in North Carolina was considered, to speak in the vernacular, "fool-proof." But with the advent of the pest, the illiterate negro and the mule are having to give place to the man who can read a farmer's bulletin and follow instructions for the application of the poisons to insure the weevil's destruction. The boll weevil and the San Jose scale, to mention two enemies of the cotton grower and orchardist, have forced book-farming on at least two groups of North Carolina farmers. And complexity of any sort whatever will inevitably furnish a stimulus for investigation and the use of books where stimulus has been wanting heretofore.

From time immemorial the public has recognized the necessity of the lawyer, the doctor, and the teachers possessing books. But by and large North Carolina has not thought of books as essential to the task of winning a living in other fields. When thought of at all, they have been thought of in the terms of "the higher culture," rather than as the tools of the banker, the merchant, the cotton manufacturer, the engineer, the architect, the city manager, the health officer. Again it is only within the past few years in North Carolina that groups of students of the University and other institutions have discovered that books and trade magazines in the fields of accounting, salesmanship, and business administration can have a definitely practical value in fitting them for their careers in the business world, as well as aiding them in winning a degree, and, perhaps, stirring them with a great inspiration. Likewise, a profound change has been effected in the reading of women's clubs. Once this centered largely around literature and the fine arts. Today the emphasis is shifting. Literature and the arts have not been abandoned, but home economics, public welfare, public health, citizenship, home and town beautification, and the more practical affairs of modern life have come in for far more consideration than ever before.

Simplicity of conditions previously obtaining in North Carolina and the placing of a wrong emphasis on the purpose of books, I believe, have contributed materially to the production of the situation I have described. But the two greatest causes have been the failure of librarians and teachers and editors to sell the book idea and teach the use of books. From 1909 to 1912, *The News and Observer,* through *The North Caro-*

lina Review, greatly stimulated interest in books and literature. *The Library Bulletin* began publication at the same time. But from 1912 to 1921, a separate book page, devoted exclusively to the consideration of new books, was not carried as a regular distinctive feature of any North Carolina daily. Fortunately, this situation was changed by the Greensboro *News* in 1921, and now a half-dozen pages of matter concerning books of the day are appearing every Sunday in the leading papers of the State, with the result that book sales have steadily multiplied.

But the greatest cause contributing to this end has been the failure of those who have been in charge of libraries and books to instruct the public, particularly the school public, in the use of books. Although the State has placed over 500,000 volumes in rural school libraries, the teachers who have had charge of the collections have been given practically no instruction in how to make them of use to their pupils. The reading habit is a habit that is acquired in childhood. It has to be developed. And if the teacher does not know how to interest children in books, the habit will not be acquired. Where teachers have known how to use books themselves, their pupils have learned to use them and love them. But until very recently such teachers have been exceedingly rare, and even now but little emphasis is being placed by the schools on the part books should play in the lives of their pupils and patrons. Stress is placed on the mechanics of reading, but not upon its real purpose in the life of the pupil.

WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

In attempting to prescribe remedies for the improvement of this situation, I am conscious that the advance must necessarily be slow, and that no one measure will bring about instantly the desired transformation. The processes now at work which have resulted in the progress evidenced in the past twenty-five years must be continued. However, I have three major suggestions to make: (1) that in the future public and school libraries stress the practical as well as the cultural value of books; (2) that the State Department of Education, in co-operation with the schools and colleges, provide adequate training on the part of teachers in the use of books; and (3) that the State commit itself unreservedly to a program of county-wide, tax-supported, free libraries which, with adequate financial support, can insure proper administration and ample book resources for the entire citizenship.

I do not wish to preach a materialistic doctrine concerning books in this day when, apparently, we are already too materialistic. On the

contrary, I should like to place even greater emphasis upon the inspirational contribution books may make to men. But I do want the emphasis to be placed at that point, be it what it may, that will gain the attention of the total adult citizenship; for books should appeal as much to members of Rotary and Kiwanis and Civitan clubs as to members of the Federation of Women's Clubs. And in neither case should the reading of books be a fad, but a means to the living of a broader, better life.

The State Department of Education, the Library Commission, and the colleges can, I am sure, greatly improve the school library situation. Hereafter, in the county and college summer schools, teachers who are to have charge of schools containing libraries should be required to study such library methods as will insure the proper use of the books by the pupils. For the grammar grades this instruction might be comparatively simple, but it should by no means be totally neglected. And for the high schools, which are just now being required to provide libraries, a definite fund should be set aside in the school budget for their maintenance according to approved standards, and some teacher should be trained extensively in library management. In this respect North Carolina should follow the lead of Wisconsin, which, in 1919-20, required every high school in that State to employ a library-trained teacher to have charge of the high school library. No high school pupil, whether he intends to go to college or not, should be permitted to attend high school without acquiring some knowledge of the specific character of information which encyclopedias and dictionaries and atlases and compendiums of various sorts contain. And to be sure that he does know this, special books should be carefully studied and questions based upon them should be answered with volume and page references, just as a lawyer cites his references in making out his brief. With this done, biography, and fiction, and poetry, and drama, and history, and science, and the arts can be supplied in adequate measure, and a State inspector of high school libraries can be put in the field who can see that proper library standards and practices prevail.

No single North Carolina county has, to date, established a county-wide, tax-supported, free library. Guilford, Forsyth, and Durham have adopted the idea in part, and illustrate in a limited way what the functions of such a library are. But if North Carolina is to have adequate library service which will reach rural and urban dwellers alike, which will provide for both country and city schools, and will insure competent, effective library administration, the county-wide library must

be made the type through which this service shall come. In our sparsely settled country areas we should follow, and follow instantly, the example of California, in which 38 county libraries, in 1918, received an annual maintenance fund of $539,458, contained 945,856 volumes, maintained 2,890 branch libraries, and served 1,549 school districts, every librarian being certificated, and serving under expert library supervision.

This program, of course, will not usher in the millennium. That is too much to expect of it. But if it is adopted and carried out, it will be in key with our splendid progress in agriculture, and industry, and road building, and education. And it will contribute equally with them in the building up of a finer North Carolina civilization.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1921-1922

By Mary B. Palmer
Secretary North Carolina Library Commission

This Bibliography covers the period from November 1, 1921, to November 30, 1922. The term is here used to include the works of all native North Carolinians, regardless of present residence, and the works of writers who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the State. Pamphlets, continuations, and periodical articles are not included.

(Abbreviations and Symbols: il., illustrated; p., pages; ed., editor; comp., compiler.)

Adams, Randolph Greenfield. Political ideas of the American revolution: Britannic-American contributions to the problem of imperial organization, 1765-1775. 207p. il. Trinity College Press, Durham, 1922.

Bond, Paul Stanley and Sherrill, Clarence Osborne. America in the world war: a summary of the achievements of the great republic in the conflict with Germany: a romance in figures compiled from many official and unofficial sources. 177p. Banta, 1921. $1.50.

Brown, Richard L. History of the Michael Brown family of Rowan county. 190p. The author, Salisbury, N. C., 1921. $2.00.

Chamberlain, Hope Summerell (Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain). History of Wake county, North Carolina; with illus. by the author. 302p. Mrs. William Johnston Andrews, Raleigh, N. C., 1922. $5.25.

Daniels, Josephus. Our navy at war. 390p. Doran, 1922. $3.00.

Dargan, Olive (Tilford) (Mrs. Pegram Dargan). Lute and furrow (poems). 140p. bds. Scribner, 1922. $1.75.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. v. 1, il. North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

Hamilton, Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac and Knight, E. W. Making of citizens (National social science series). 146p. McClurg, 1922. $1.00.

HAMILTON, JOSEPH GREGOIRE DE ROULHAC, ed. Selections from the writings of Abraham Lincoln; ed. for school use. (The Lake English classics.) 424p. Scott, 1922. $1.00.

HARPER, WILLIAM ALLEN. Church in the present crisis; introd. by Peter Ainslie. 272p. Revell, 1921. $1.75.

HOSKINS, JOSEPH A., comp. President Washington's diaries, 1791 to 1799. 100p. J. A. Hoskins, Summerfield, N. C., 1922. $2.00.

JACKSON, WALTER CLINTON. A boy's life of Booker T. Washington. 147p. il. Macmillan, 1922. 88c.

KNIGHT, EDGAR WALLACE. Public education in the South. 482p. Ginn, 1922. $2.00.

KOCH, FREDERICK HENRY. Carolina folk-plays. 160p. il. Holt, 1922. $1.75.

LANIER, JOHN J. Washington the great American. Mason, Macoy Pub. Co., 45-59 John Street, New York, 1922. $1.50.

LICHTENSTEIN, GASTON. From Richmond to North Cape. 160p. il., 1922. William Byrd Press, Richmond, 1922. $2.00.

NEWSOM, DALLAS WALTON. Song and dream (poems). 174p. Stratford, 1922. $2.50.

POGUE, JOSEPH E. The economics of petroleum. 375p. Wiley, 1921.

POLLOCK, JOHN ALFRED (RONLEIGH DE CONVAL, pseud). Fair lady of Halifax, or Colmey's six hundred. 403p. The author, 411 N. Queen St., Kinston, N. C., 1920. $2.00.

PORTER, SAMUEL JUDSON. Gospel of beauty, with a foreword by L. R. Scarborough. 13-118p. Doran, 1922. $1.25.

POTEAT, EDWIN MCNEILL. Withered fig tree; studies in stewardship. 74p. bds. Am. Bapt., 1921. $1.00.

POTEAT, GORDON. Greatheart of the South, John Todd Anderson, medical missionary. 123p. il. Doran, 1921. $1.50.

POTEAT, HUBERT MCNEILL. Practical hymnology. 7-130p. il. Badger, R. G., 1921. $2.00.

SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO, ed. Selected stories of O. Henry. 255p. il. Doubleday, 1922. $1.25.

Smith, William Alexander. Family Tree Book. 304p. il.; priv. ptd., 1922. Mrs. Bettie Smith Hughes, 102 N. Gramercy Place, Los Angeles, Cal. $10.00.

Spence, Hersey Everett. A guide to the study of the English Bible. 178p. Trinity College Press, Durham, 1922.

Van Landingham, Mary Oates (Spratt), (Mrs. John van Landingham). Glowing embers. 307p.; priv. ptd. The author, 500 East Ave., Charlotte, N. C., 1922.

Weaver, John van Alstyne, Jr. In America. 80p. bds. Knopf, 1921. $1.50.

Weaver, John van Alstyne, Jr. Margey wins the game. 9-110p. bds. Knopf, 1922. $1.50.

The Cult of the Second Best

By Walter Lippmann
Author "Public Opinion," member editorial staff New York World

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Not so long ago Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote a play, or rather a whole series of plays, in which he said that there was no hope for mankind unless men learned to live at least three hundred years. He argued that civilization had become so complicated, and citizenship required so much more knowledge than people had time to acquire in one lifetime, that the only way out was to live three or four times as long. Only then, only if we all went back to Methuselah, would we have time to grow wise, and would we have an interest in really settling our problems. Today, said Mr. Shaw, we do not live long enough to become better than college freshmen and flappers in politics, and our attitude towards civilization is like that of an untidy tenant with a short lease who has no interest in the upkeep or improvement of the property.

Mr. Shaw's advice that we should live as long as Methuselah is rather difficult advice to follow. But of course Mr. Shaw wasn't expecting us to take his advice. In fact, I fancy that if Mr. Lloyd George showed signs of living three hundred years, Mr. Shaw would promptly go out of his mind. What Mr. Shaw was doing was performing an old trick of his. The trick consists in getting hold of a perfectly solid truth, and then exploding that truth upon the public in the most outrageous and startling way he can imagine.

Now the solid truth which Mr. Shaw had in the back of his mind was the conviction that men had in them the capacity to live splendidly if only they were not afraid to do so. His conviction is, I think, a very common one today. Wherever you go you run into the feeling that public life is kept second rate by great quantities of hokum and buncomb, by insincerities, by play to the galleries, by demagoguery, by propaganda, by lack of moral courage. To put it briefly, there is a widespread feeling in the land that the first-rate men don't come to the top, or if they come that they are somehow compelled to conform to mediocre standards. This is an old charge against democracy. But in the past it has always been made by the aristocrats. Today it is perhaps the main topic of discussion among thinking people, and the charge of mediocrity in politics is made by democrats themselves.

With your permission I shall tonight touch briefly on some aspects of this feeling that there is in public life a Cult of the Second Best.

Let me begin by specifying a little more exactly what I mean by the Cult of the Second Best. Some months ago at a friend's house I met a very prominent member of the present administration. There is no need to mention his name, because I am not here to charge any one with anything but to illustrate a point which is a common experience in the daily life of almost every newspaper man. This prominent official talked to us at length that day on two questions which deeply concern the country. He talked about the coal strike which was then in progress and about the very bad economic organization of the bituminous coal industry in particular. We asked him what was the remedy, and he then outlined in great detail a plan which was radical enough to make us all sit up straight. He said that no plan less radical than this one would cure the trouble, and that if the plan was not adopted the coal industry would drift from bad to worse.

Now it is of no importance to us tonight whether the plan was a good one or a bad one. All I ask you to remember is that this very eminent politician believed whole-heartedly in it. I asked him when he expected to make the plan public, and he replied that he wasn't going to make it public because the voters would not understand it and the thing would cause an awful hullabaloo. So the public has never yet found out, and does not yet know, what one of its highest and most respected officials thinks about the coal problem.

We then got on to the subject of the debts owed by European governments to the United States. Our distinguished guest told us, as if it were the most obvious thing in the world, that of course a large part of these debts were uncollectible. We asked him whether it was not important that this should be explained to the American people, and he answered that Congress would probably eat him alive if he blurted out such an unpleasant fact.

Now here were two instances where a man of great ability in high place was thinking one thing privately and saying another thing publicly. Does not this strike you as somehow a dangerous and corrupting thing in a government supposed to be founded on free and frank discussion of public affairs? It strikes me as very corrupting intellectually to the public official who starts by being afraid to say what he thinks and often ends by thinking what he says. It strikes me as unfair to the people at large that they should have to vote and form their opinions without being allowed to hear the sincerest thoughts of those who are on the inside and have the best opportunity to form true judgments.

These two instances are not in the least exceptional in my experience. I was at Paris through some part of the Peace Conference, and

nothing seemed to me so utterly depressing as the contrast between what the men on the inside said in private and what they felt compelled to do and say in public. The Treaty of Versailles has been much criticized throughout the world since it was published, but it was just as severely criticized by the insiders at Paris before it was published. Nevertheless, there were things put into the treaty which every expert knew were unworkable and dangerous to the peace of Europe, because outside the conference people were howling for those things. Our own delegates at Paris were forced to accept provisions in that treaty which they knew to be bad, because every jingo in the Paris press, every jingo in Senator Lodge's party, every Tory in England was demanding them. The story is now public property. You have only to read Ray Stannard Baker's story based on President Wilson's documents to see how much wiser our delegation was in private than it was able to be in public.

About a year ago in London I was talking to an Englishman who had been a member of the British delegation about this very thing, and he told me a story out of his own experience which I feel at liberty to repeat. The story is approximately this: The conference had reached a deadlock over the size of the indemnity to be imposed on Germany. There were two proposals, an American and a British. The American proposal called for a sum of about fifteen billions. This was both just and within the capacity of Germany to pay. It was a sum which every expert knew was possible, and therefore, if adopted, it meant that the financial recovery of Europe could begin. This plan was known among the British at Paris as the Heavenly Peace.

The other plan called for the payment of the impossible gigantic sum which Mr. Lloyd George had promised to secure in the frantic khaki election of 1918. This plan was known as the Hellish Peace, because if it was adopted everybody foresaw the very thing which is now happening in Europe. They foresaw that it meant a frantic and futile effort to achieve the impossible, accompanied by disorder and suffering.

Mr. Lloyd George was undecided. He knew that the Heavenly Peace was best for the world in the long run, but very bad politics in England at that moment. He knew that the Hellish Peace was good politics at the moment, but very bad for the world in the long run. So he took his advisers off to the country with him for the week-end, and for two days they debated whether to make a Heavenly Peace or a Hellish Peace. The Heavenly Party won the debate and they returned to Paris feeling immensely noble.

But one of the members of the other party wired the news of the decision to England. Immediately the Tories set to work. One hundred and forty members of the House of Commons, whom somebody

described as men who had done extremely well for themselves in the war, signed a resolution threatening Mr. Lloyd George with political death if he yielded to the Americans. The Northcliffe press let loose all its thunder. This was more than Mr. Lloyd George could stand. So he switched over and demanded the Hellish Peace.

These are sufficient illustrations of what is meant by the Cult of the Second Best. And I shall therefore ask you to consider next what such a condition means in popular government. It means in the first place that the people do not learn from the insiders what the insiders think is most true or most wise, but what the insiders think the majority of voters will on the spur of the moment most like to hear. It means that public opinion, instead of being educated constantly by real discussion, is forced to chew dry straw. It means that public opinion suffers one disappointment after another until you reach the state of mind now prevalent throughout the world.

It is a state of mind which says that politics is a choice between tweedledum and tweedledee, that politics is a game for politicians. And this feeling has very dangerous consequences. It drives some of the people to despair of politics, and from despair to a belief in violence and direct action. It drives other people just out of politics altogether with a feeling that voting is hardly worth while and that public life is no place for them.

There is no mechanical remedy for all this. You can't pass a law about it. The only thing you can do is by merciless criticism and by courageous example to make the cult of the second best extremely unfashionable.

Now I have argued this question a good deal with politicians, and in the end the argument has always come down to one point, which is the substance of what I have to say tonight.

The politician in defending himself usually ends by saying that it is his business to serve the people by doing what they want him to do. And if he is a shrewd politician he has usually turned upon me and said: "You are a newspaper man, aren't you? Well, why don't the newspapers take such splendid care not to step too much on their readers' toes?"

And when I have thought of it in that way I felt a little more charitable about the politician's weaknesses. So what I've got to say applies to pretty nearly everybody, including perhaps college professors, to anybody whose job depends upon votes, public favor, circulation or audiences.

All of us are suffering from a confusion of mind which is, it seems to me, the foundation of our Cult of the Second Best. We have two

jobs to do. We have to serve the interests of the public. That is one thing, and the most important. At the same time we have to make what we say or do interesting to the public.

Now there is a very great difference between the interests of the public and what the public finds interesting. A very great difference. Take yourselves as an example. You have an enormous interest in the proper settlement of the reparation problem. Have you read as much about reparations in the last two months as you have read about the Kaiser's wedding and the stranded harem of the Sultan? You have a profound interest in the Lausanne Conference, but I am willing to wager fewer of you can describe the issues than could describe Princess Mary's wedding gown some months ago. I am confident that more of you read about Charlie Chaplin's reported engagement to Pola Negri, and that you thought about it more, than you have thought about whether Mr. Pierce Butler is a good appointment to the Supreme Court. The Stillman case was discussed a thousand times more than the tariff, and I could draw a bigger crowd in New York—Raleigh no doubt is different—tomorrow night if I promised to speak about the political views of Mary Pickford than I could if I offered to discuss Mr. Harding's proposal for a ship subsidy.

So there you are. That's what all men who depend upon public opinion are up against, whether they hold office or run newspapers. The interests of the public and what the public finds interesting do not coincide. And in my judgment a good sixty or seventy per cent of the insincerity, the buncomb and the hokum of public life is not due to fear of being punished, but to fear of being dull. We are much less afraid that you will lynch us than we are that you will yawn and go to sleep.

Now my theory is that you are tending to yawn and go to sleep anyway, that you don't take the politicians very seriously and that perhaps you don't take what we write in the newspapers so very seriously either. That being the case, it seems to me that if everybody started to speak his whole mind on public questions the shock and novelty of it might almost make it interesting. At any rate, without taking ourselves too heavily, there is such a thing as a public duty, and in a democracy the highest intellectual duty is to make your public utterance conform to your best private opinion. At the risk of boring the public, at the risk of frightening the public, this is the only possible rule. For democracy can never work its way through the problems that confront it if the best informed opinion isn't courageously thrown into the discussion.

It is necessary, therefore, at every turn to combat the notion that the public should be given what the public wants. That is an utterly cor-

rupting rule for politicians, newspapers, professors or parsons. The only rule for each of us is to give the public what he thinks the public ought to have, and then neither whine nor complain if the public rejects him and goes elsewhere. There is nothing to be gained and everything to be lost by trying to serve the public by giving them what they are supposed to want. We shall serve the public best in the long run by giving them what we believe, while admitting in all humility that we may be talking nonsense. And when anybody comes to us, be he a political boss, or any other kind of boss, and tells us to give the public what they want, our reply ought to be, if we don't believe in that thing: If the public wants that, let them go find somebody who will give it to them.

Unless we take that attitude the Cult of the Second Best will flourish among us like a green bay tree. Perhaps you will agree. But even if you do, you may be asking yourselves what the practical consequences would be to men who took such a stand. How would they earn their living? That is a fair question, for the consequences of what I've been preaching tonight would frequently mean that men would resign from very pleasant jobs.

Now I believe this, and I hope you will bear with me while I say it. I believe that no man is really fit to hold a public office, or any other job which depends upon public favor or has to do with teaching in any form, if that man isn't also capable of earning a living in some other way if necessary. That may sound a little strange at first, but I believe that there can be no real freedom or sincerity in any public service unless men in it are perfectly ready to resign or be fired at any time for their opinions.

You know that one of the first ideals of this Republic was that a man should leave his plough in the furrow to do a public service, and that he should then return to his plough when the service was done. There was profound wisdom in that ideal, for it meant that the public servant had no fears for his private comfort. He was not dependent upon the public, and therefore he could serve it as a free man.

This ideal we ought to resurrect. We ought to expect our politicians to have some other career to fall back upon besides politics, we ought to expect the whole intellectual class, teachers, writers, and the like, to learn trades so that they can afford to resign at any time and are, therefore, in the most practical sense of the word free men. I promise the professors, if there are any present, that their incomes would not be reduced much if, having been properly educated to the work, they suddenly had to turn bricklayer or steamfitter. I can assure them that as a writer I have felt ever so much happier and freer since I realized

that if the worst came to the worst I could probably qualify as a taxicab driver in New York City.

At any rate, the way to destroy the Cult of the Second Best seems to me this: Give the public not what you think it wants, but what you think it needs. Take your chances on being dull and prepare yourself to resign at any moment by learning some other useful occupation that is not dependent upon public favor. Then you will be a free man, and as a free man you can remind the public with perfect safety to search its own heart a bit, asking whether the ease with which it is frightened is not in some measure responsible also for the second-rateness of public life.

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